



Ex Libris

C. K. OGDEN

Some can trace in the
especially of F. S. S. S.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

<http://www.archive.org/details/pamphlets00blak>



LUX RENATA:

A

PROTESTANT'S EPISTLE.

LUX RENATA:

A

PROTESTANT'S EPISTLE, WITH NOTES.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF RELIGIO CLERICI.

If Mankind were not the oddest portion of the Creation, one would wonder how 'tis possible for Protestants to believe that the Wolves design good to the Sheep.

The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined, 1692.—p. 12.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MAWMAN, LUDGATE-STREET,

AND

C. AND J. RIVINGTON, WATERLOO-PLACE,
AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

MDCCCXXVII.

SHACKELL AND CO, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

SRLF
URL

oc/39782097

A BARE inspection of the Analysis of the following Poem will show that a large proportion of its subject-matter has been suggested by a perusal of Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church*. The Author, in all cases, has followed up to their sources the facts to which he has been guided by that interesting work : and he gladly embraces this opportunity of adding his testimony, such as it is, to the entire accuracy and fidelity of Mr. Southey's representations.

THEOLOGICAL Controversy not a fit theme for Poetry—Objection answered—Difference of Style between Ancient and Modern Divines—Causes of this Difference—Knowledge more extensively diffused at present than formerly—But not so deeply founded—Necessity of meeting this change—Poetry may be so employed—It has been adapted to Theological controversy on former occasions—By Dryden—But erroneously—Objects of the Poem—Rise of the Papal power—Sources of its aggrandizement—Abuses of its supremacy—Its ambition—Gregory VII.—Julius II.—Its corruptions—Leo X.—Indulgences—Luther—Erasmus—Reformation in England—The character and effects of the Reformation itself by no means depend upon the moral conduct of the instruments employed by Providence in order to advance its progress—Henry VIII.—Katharine of Arragon—Anne Boleyn—Translation of the Scriptures—Edward VI.—Mary—The Persecution—Cranmer—The Reformed Faith confirmed by the sufferings of the Martyrs—Elizabeth—Charles I.—Apostacy and death-bed of Charles II.—The Seven Bishops—Abdication and Exile of James II.—Sancroft and the Nonjurors—The power of Rome diminished—But her Doctrines unchanged—Present attacks upon the Church of England—By Romish Orators—And Historians—Necessity of caution—Final triumph of the Reformed Faith—Which shall be the instrument of Universal Conversion.

LUX RENATA :

A PROTESTANT'S EPISTLE.

“ A MILK-WHITE HIND”—pshaw! why should verse
invade

The grim Polemic's unattractive trade?
Why teach the Muse, like some old belfry chime,
To ring Ecclesiastic peals in rhyme?
To Fancy's child, less barren themes belong,
And Dialectics little suit with Song.

Just were the charge if, pressing to the fight,
As once our Fathers wrote their Sons would write.
But Fashion, varying with each race of men,
Shapes not our garb more often than our pen. 10
Still old disputes burn fiercely as before,
And blasts of controversy kindle more :
Still, although leprous, would the Beast of Sin
“ Without” seem “ spotless,” “ innocent within.”

Yet, when our champions harness for the plain,
 Locked in their stores, what arms of proof remain !
 There, left to moulder 'mid the spoils of age,
 Sleeps, unawakened, many a puissant page ;
 And, like the trophies in some country Hall,
 Uphangs and rusts the panoply of Saul. 20

Long since, alas ! those Giants have gone by,
 Whose toil upheaved the mountain mass on high ;
 Bade tome on tome, Olympus-like, arise,
 And bridged the path of Reason to the skies.
 No thunders blasted ; for the Almighty knew
 Faith purged their vision, Grace their footsteps drew ;
 No shades ingulphed them ; for a cherub beam
 Lit their ascent, as in the Patriarch's dream :
 No hideous ruin welmed them in its fall ;
 For Christ, on whom they built, supported all. 30

Search *now* the shelves where Orthodox renown
 Musters beneath THE BIBLE AND THE CROWN.

v. 20. *Rusts and uphangs.*]

“ The idle spear and shield were high uphung.”

MILTON, *Ode on the Nativity*.

Here brisk Octavos dress in slender line,
 In light battalion Pamphlets there combine;
 Here TRACTS and LETTERS skirmish in advance,
 There single SERMONS drop their shots by chance.
 Unawed by Wisdom, unabashed by Wit,
 There 'mid his pigmy troops might Osborne sit;
 Securely chide the lingering Sage, nor dread
 One vengeful Folio bounding from his head. 40

Yet not to Us, be all the blame assigned
 Of this small haberdashery of mind:

v. 35. *Tracts and Letters.*] It is the difference of form and manner, not any diminution of strength and power, the substitution of flying artillery for heavy field-pieces, rendered necessary by change of tactics, which is here alluded to. The Popish controversy has seldom been conducted with more vigour of intellect or deeper knowledge of divinity than since its recent revival; Single *Sermons* and *Letters*, in particular, have been produced by some contemporaries, to the authorship of which any of the "Giants" of old might be well pleased to assert a claim.

v. 38. *Osborne.*] In spite of Boswell's unseasonable incredulity, the story of Johnson's characteristic revenge upon Osborne, the bookseller, as related by Sir John Hawkins, carries with it strong marks of authenticity. Like the learned Frobenius, he might have addressed himself,

*Sic moriens Nato, "Folio ne crede labores,
 In Decimo Serto tutior esse potes."*

It is not choice which governs us, but need ;
 For who will write what others will not read ?
 The Gown's contagious slumber passed away
 When the first GEORGES closed their leaden sway :
 Inaction nursed the chill disease, which crept
 Through all our pastures, while the shepherds slept :
 Then the Clerk nodded to the Vicar's yawn,
 Sloth dozed in silk and softly snored in lawn. 50
 Till, Briton-born, a youthful Monarch broke
 The drowsy talisman, and all awoke :

v. 44. *For who will write what others will not read?*] Mr. Faber, in the most valuable of his works, has very happily described the literary disposition of our times. " Not ignorant of the impatient indolence of an age, which claims to have discovered the long-hidden royal road to knowledge, I have laboured to be brief; yet aware, at the same time, that in one mode only can the discussion be satisfactorily conducted, I have endeavoured to condense within small space no small quantity of matter."

Difficulties of Romanism, Preface, xix.

v. 45. *The Gown's contagious slumber.*]

" The strong contagion of the Gown."

JOHNSON. *Vanity of Human Wishes*.

v. 51. *Briton-born.*] " Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton."—*First Speech of George III. to Parliament*, Nov. 18, 1760.

Religion, starting from the poppy shade,
Arranged the charms neglect had disarrayed ;
Her lamp replenished, freshly girt her zone,
And found her brightest mirror in the Throne.

Lo! from that hour what beacons crown our hill!
What dews of unction on our vales distil!
Fresh, as transfused from some more vigorous trunk,
Her veins new life-blood, in their age, had drunk ; 60
Fair, as in renovated hues she lay,
Basking and bright, her slough just cast away,
Our Church arose ; rejoicingly to run
A course of gladness, like her type, the Sun
See, full of works, her grey-haired Prelates meet
Their Lord, and plant on Sion's mount their feet :
Or, would your hopes her coming glories tell,
Mark on what forehead ——'s mitre fell.

Strong though She be, not always must belong
The race to swiftness, battle to the strong. 70
The slippery Eel a Giant's grasp escapes,
And Proteus mocks us by his myriad shapes.

Power to the skies may stretch his front in vain,
 If handmaid Prudence join not in his train.
 So schooled, by holy Paul a lesson shown,
 We to the season modify our tone.
 Still the same Cynosure our vessel guides ;
 Still, by the breath of Heaven impelled, she glides ;
 To the same shore, our course, unchanged, we steer ;
 Teach all the Truth—but teach as Men will hear. 80

When Wisdom slowly yielded to the wise,
 Reduced by siege, not stormed by brisk surprise,
 Ere the pale Student whose ambitious hope
 Made Immortality, not Time, his scope,
 Dragged to slow light, with more than mother pains,
 The long gestation of his teeming brains,
 Year rolled o'er year, and toil succeeded toil,
 Dim waxed his eye, and wasted was his oil.
 Not so with *Us* : our task is to pursue
 The lettered Rabble, not the lettered Few. 90

v. 73. *Power to the skies may stretch his front in vain.*]

“ Power with her heafod straught ynto the skyes.”

CHATTERTON. *Chorus in Goddewyn.*

No longer Science, coy and chary maid,
Beneath her veil is courted in the shade ;
But, bold and strumpet-like, parades the streets,
Lavish of proffered charms to all she meets.
Truth gains but little by this spreading zeal,
Where each man snaps a mouthful, none a meal.
The rays of Knowledge, centered in a whole,
Shed Light and Heat, and fire the kindling soul :
Let them diverge, so weak the power they bring,
The God of Wisdom scarcely seems their spring. 100
Thus, at each stroke which falls on beaten Gold,
Wide and more wide the glittering leaves unfold ;
The surface blazes with the specious store,—
But where the substance of the sterling ore ?
I see, I see, Fame calls a motley band,
Opes wide her Temple, bids her gates expand ;
Lean, unwashed votaries, jostling in the dark,
Throng like those crowds which once beset the Ark.
Here some swart Vulcan, o'er his smithy's heat,
Strikes out fresh laws for Nature at a beat; 110
There, while their hand the noisy shuttle plies,
New Lockes emerge, and greater Newtons rise ;
Untwist the chequered threads of human mind,
And o'er the loom, Creation's texture bind.

In such free trade, where'er her course may stand,
 The Muse can scarce be reckoned contraband.
 Slow and securely, o'er the obedient tide,
 The vessels, ballasted by Dullness, ride ;
 To some rich port a steady voyage hold,
 And barter forth their leaden freight for Gold. 120
 Wit's lighter barks, in gay and careless trim,
 Toy with the waters and their surface skim ;
 To summer skies unfurl a sportive sail,
 And float, as glides the stream, or breathes the gale.
 So, lured to deeper seas, my helm is bent
 Between the narrow straits of Argument :
 Rude winds and angry waves within them roar,
 And rocks, colliding, dash from either shore.
 And yet, by Bards of other Creed and Time,
 Not unattempted is such course of rhyme. 130

v. 128. *Rocks colliding.*]

Πέτρας μὲν πάμπρωτον ἀφορμηθέντες ἰμεῖο
 κυανέας ὄψεσθε δύν' αἰλὸς ἐν ξυνοχῇσι,
 τῶν ἔτινα φημὶ διαμπερὲς ἐξαλειῶσθαι,
 οὐ γὰρ τε ρίζησιν ἐρήρευται νεότησιν,
 ἀλλὰ θαμὰ ξυνῶσι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλησιν,
 εἰς ἓν; ὕπερθε δὲ πολλὸν αἰλὸς κορυβύεται ὕδαρ
 βοατσόμενον, γρηνὲς δὲ περὶ σφυελὴν βρέμει ἀκτὴν.

Apoll. Rhod. *Argonaut* II. 317.

"Unhappy DRYDEN!"—POPE could only sing
 The curse which blighted from one ribald King;
 CHARLES the pollution of your Fancy claims,
 Your Reason's blindness flowed from bigot JAMES.
 Another dares not hope, vain hope! like thee,
 To waken music in its master key;
 Through all the links of measured sweetness range,
 Till Language wonders at her powers of change:
 Yet Truth may guide him through the maze of Song,
 And fix *his* steps aright where *thine* were wrong; 140
 Unlock the Fountain whence his Faith ascends,
 And show what purged it first, what still defends.

LONG were the task, through each degree to trace
 God's Servant's Servant to his pride of place:
 To note how, borne above his lowly birth,
 He reared his Crosier o'er the Lords of Earth;

v. 131. "*Unhappy Dryden.*"] POPE, *Imitations of Horace, Epistle to Augustus*, 213.

v. 143. *Long were the task.*] Mr. Butler, (a name never to be mentioned without respect, if it were only, among his many other merits, for the humanized tone in which he has conducted his controversy,) challenges Mr. Southey to inform him *when* "this prodigious structure of imposture and

To robes of Empire changed his Priestly gown,
 And swelled the Mitre to the Triple Crown.
 (He bears, as Porter of the ethereal door,
 A leash of Crowns—not Cerberus has more.) 150

wickedness was raised?" (*Book of the Roman Catholic Church, Letter I. 17.*) and finds great fault with the Protestant writers in general, for differing in the æras which they have severally assigned for its creation. It is easier, however, to name the point at which the Papal dominion attained its greatest height, (probably during the XIth century,) than that from which its advance to usurpation commenced. Virgil speaks not of the *birth*, but of the *progress* of his brilliant personification "*Malum quo non velocius ullum*;" and there is a very applicable passage in the more Philosophical Poet, from whom some of Virgil's expressions, in this place, have been borrowed, which may illustrate the *manner* of advance.

*Denique, quod longo venit impete, sumere debet
 Mobilitatem, etiam atque etiam quæ crescit eundo,
 Et validas auget vireis et roborat ictum:
 Nam facit ut quæ sint illius semina cunque
 E regione locum quasi in unum cuncta ferantur,
 Omnia conjiciens in eum volventia cursum.*

Lucretius. VI. 339.

v. 150. — not *Cerberus has more.*] Harry Burton thought much to the same effect.

His triple Crowne three Kingdoms notes—what three?
 Pope reckons fower; three are controversorie:

'Twere vain to question whether mortal key
 Keeps holy watch o'er CONSTANTINE'S DECREE.
 'Mid withered sweets and evil-smelling flowers,
 Astolfo found it, in the lunar bowers ;
 Yet Rome may teach (and who dares trust to sense,
 If Heaven's Vice-gerents thus their Creed dispense ?)

Heaven he despaire; for suretye Earth must be
 His Heaven the while, usurpt tho' ; Purgatorie,
 He holds by blind beleife, but never any
 Question'd the fowrth due to him and his meiny.

Lines præfix'd to *Baiting of the Pope's Bull*, 1627.

v. 152. *Constantine's decree.*] The pretensions of this document are well discussed by Hutten, in his "*Ilias Malorum Reg. Pontif. Rom.*" 27, and also by Philippe de Mornaye, in his "*Mysterium Iniquitatis*," 27 (Ed. 1611.) What St. Peter himself thought of it may be seen in the "*Julius Exclusus*." "*Pet. Et extant istius munificentie certa monumenta ?—Jul. Nulla præter paleam unam Decreto admixtam. —Pet. Fabula fortassis est.—Jul. Id vel ex meipso conjicio.*"

Of its lunar registry not any reasonable doubt can be entertained.

*Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,
 Ch' ebber giù buono odore, or puzzan forte :
 Questo era il dono (se però dir lece,)
 Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.*

Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80.

Her title-deeds, like Christ's own body, lie
At once within the Lateran and the Sky.

v. 157. *Christ's own body.*] The reasoning which in our times is adduced, by a very able advocate, in favour of Transubstantiation, may be seen in an eloquent but inconclusive Sermon, delivered by Dr. Baines, Bishop of Siga, at the Dedication of a Roman Catholic Chapel, at Bradford, in Yorkshire, on July 27, 1825. The Preacher argues, that because our Saviour, while on earth, was present in more states than one, *e. g.* "now as an infant in the stable, now as a malefactor on the cross;" because "to Magdalene he appears as a gardener, to two of his disciples as a stranger;" therefore, that such a being as a "man God" may be "present in more states than one;" and, consequently, that Transubstantiation is not absurd. It is hazardous to approach a subject connected with the mysterious nature of Christ, in any but the most serious vein; or it might be said, that Dr. Baines's argument, if it proves any thing, proves only thus much: that we pass through life, notwithstanding the continual flux of corporeal particles, with essentially the same body which we brought into it; or that, although Mathews, the comedian, assumes half a dozen characters in the course of one evening, his audience need not entertain any real apprehension that he thereby destroys his personal identity.

Mr. Butler appears still more easily satisfied. He dismisses the common, and, as might be supposed, unanswerable argument against Transubstantiation, namely, that it is contradicted by the senses, with the following rejoinder, "What regard to

Much power by fraud, by terror more was gained,
 This Guilt accorded, Falsehood that obtained. 160
 With lavish hand both Saint and Sinner gave,
 One stung by conscience, one to zeal a slave.
 Till the proud Harlot, from her seven-fold hill,
 Saw prostrate Nations cower beneath her will;
 And his broad arms the peaceful Fisher threw,
 More wide, AUGUSTUS, than thine Eagles flew.

the senses enters into the belief of the Trinity, the Incarnation, or the Immateriality of the Soul?" (*Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, Letter XI. 149.) It would not be very easy to state in what manner any one of these three leading doctrines could be subjected to the test of the senses; and, on the other hand, the miracle asserted to be worked in Transubstantiation, is rejected at once by sight, touch, smell, and taste. But see this argument followed out in Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*. *Works by Heber*, 11. 12.

v. 162. *One stung by conscience, one to zeal a slave.*] The Exarchate granted to the Bishops of Rome by Pepin, is universally supposed to have been wrung from him through remorse for his crimes, and especially for his perfidy to Childeric. On the motives which led to Charlemagne's bounty, greater doubt may exist. It was more likely to have been the result of policy than of zeal; but the latter was at least the ostensible pretext.

Peaceful, while Peace can hope of gain afford ;
 Quick, if ambition lures, to bare the sword.
 Here camp-bred JULIUS heads his leaguering band,
 There rebel vassals arm for HILDEBRAND. 170
 Mark, at the Pontiff's unrelenting gate,
 For three long suns degraded HENRY wait :

169. — *camp-bred Julius.*] The warlike taste of Julius II. had full gratification long before he attained the triple Crown. During the Pontificate of his uncle, Sextus IV., by whom he was created Cardinal, he was intrusted with a body of Ecclesiastical troops, in order to suppress a rebellion, which had broken out in Umbria. At that moment he was in possession of the See of Avignon, which had been erected for him into an Archbishopric ; and, even before this, he had successively filled those of Boulogne, Ostia, and Carpentras.

v. 170. *Hildebrand.*] “ Give a dog a bad name,” &c. It might be thought that Gregory VII. had enough to answer for, respecting which all History would vouch ; and that it would, therefore, be needless to heap conjectural crimes on his memory. The Ex-Dominican Salgado, however, is not content with this allowance, and briskly inquires, “ *an non Hildebrandus, infernalis ille titio, sex Papas veneno necavit?*” see his Συμβίωσις, or *Intimate converse of Pope and Devil.*

v. 172. — *degraded Henry.*] The indignities to which the Emperor Henry IV. was compelled to submit, when he was summoned by Gregory VII. to do penance before him in the fortress of Canossa, are detailed by Maimbourg, (*Hist. de la Decadence de l'Empire apres Charlemagne*, III. ann. 1077.)

Three wintry suns; with feet and bosom bare,
 His limbs sore-fretted by the shirt of hair;
 No food may calm his hunger's gnawing rage,
 No drop the fever of his lips assuage;
 Tarnished and rent, the Crown, beneath him lies,
 A Whip, the Sceptre, in his hand supplies;
 And tears, hard-wrung from outraged Honour, stand
 In eyes which wont to glisten with command. 180
 What bribe this iron-hearted Priest may wean
 From his stern mood?—the dalliance of a Queen.
 Thy voice, MATILDA, for the suppliant gains
 Freedom—without a curse—to wear his chains.

strictly in the manner in which they are here noticed. A similar account may be found in the *Mysterium Iniquitatis*. Some farther particulars are afforded by the *Italia Illustrata*, and the *Hist. ab inclinat. Rom. Imp. (Decad. iii. 3)* of Blondus (Flavius), and also by Roberts's *Muster of Schismatics*.

v. 182. — *the dalliance of a Queen.*] Notwithstanding the minor playfulness, for which, as Mr. Southey has reminded us, (*Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglic.* 319) Hildebrand was punished with a suspension of the gift of tears, Scandal has been busily at work relative to his connection with the Countess Matilda; who, it is plain, procured a reconciliation for Henry IV. See the passages cited by Bayle (Gregoire VII.) more especially that from Lambert de Schaffnabourg.

Turn now where Tyber from his echoing bed
Rears once again his trumpet-startled head ;
Then shrinks affrighted, as in long array
Amid his reeds, shields, helms, and lances play.
Have Cæsar's ashes kindled in their urn ?
Storms some new Alaric ? does the Goth return ? 190
Not from the fated plain, his own red mead,
Has Mars, the Avenger, summoned forth his seed :
Nor Janus, rending from his gates the bar,
Slipped from her brazen thrall the Fiend of War.
From seats which make devotion all their care,
Cells framed for contemplation, shrines for prayer ;
From cloistered solitudes, which breathe repose,
And Heaven-directed Priests or Maids inclose ;
Where midnight vigils foster Love's increase,
And peaceful anthems hymn the Prince of Peace ; 200
'Mid storms unlooked for in such cloudless sky,
Wrath bares her arm, and bolts of vengeance fly.
By yon dim Mole ('tis Hadrian sleeps within,)
Their march, the motley, mingled hosts begin.

v. 200. *Peaceful anthems hymn the Prince of Peace.*]

Be Peace on Earth before the Prince of Peace.

HEBER. *Palestine.*

Religion bears her pageants to the field,
 And Cross and Chalice blend with spear and shield :
 Above the Pyx of consecrated gold
 Emblazoned banners wave their sanguine fold ;
 Loud drums, 'mid holy chaunts, their echoes raise,
 Jests clash with worship, blasphemies with praise. 210
 And who the Chieftain, marshalling to fight
 Venetia's legions, Almaine's hireling knight ?
 What tonsured brow does yon dark helm conceal ?
 What limbs are bent with unaccustomed steel ?

v. 205. *Religion bears her pageants to the field.*] The appearance of Julius II. in person, at the siege of Mirandola, is recorded, among others, by Guicciardini (IX.) in terms which do not admit of doubt. Philippe de Mornay (*Mysterium Iniquitatis*, 614) has given the following vivid description of the Papal campaign, in words which he states to be translated from Monstrelet; but which I have searched for in vain in that Chronicler. "*Sedem Petri deseruit ut Martis titulum assumeret, bellorum Dei; triplicem coronam apertis campis exponeret; et in excubiis noctem transigeret; et mitras, cruces, lituos in castris volitantes quam pulcrum esset videre Deus novit. Diabolum saltem minimè adfuisse verisimile ubi tam vili pretio benedictiones prostabant.*"

v. 212. *Venetia's legions, Almaine's hireling knight.*] The troops of Julius II. were composed partly of the Venetians, with whom he was in league, and partly of German mercenaries.

What eyes, long dim with gathered mists of age,
 Flash from their wasted orbs a warrior's rage?
 He gains the bridge ; ascends its midmost arch,
 Before the clarion swells its blast for march :
 Lo ! from his hands, not raised in shrift, are hurled
 The Keys, all potent o'er the eternal World ; 220
 And lips, whence benediction ought to flow,
 Launch death and fierce defiance at their foe:
 " In Tyber's flood let PETER's ensigns sleep !
 " PAUL ! to the rescue, from thy scabbard leap !"

v. 224. *Paul ! to the rescue.*] Bayle is inclined to disbelieve this story of Julius II. ; and, with his usual love of paradox, he draws an argument against it from the numerous authorities by which it is affirmed. It has been a favourite subject with Epigrammatists, and has exercised the satire of Hutten, Melancthon, Caspar Bruschius, and Ducher, among others. Our own John Owen also has written on it, perhaps, not in his best vein.

Ecce duo Gladii, Christo Petrus ensifer inquit ;

Ecce duo Claves, O Petre, Christus ait.

Deposuit Petrus Gladium, Clavesque recepit ;

Deponis Claves tu, Gladiumque rapis.

Erasmus (*aut Erasmus est aut Diabolus* for who else could have written the inimitable *Julius Exclusus?*) does not mention this incident ; but he gives St. Peter a full revenge for it. The Pope, it seems, had warily kept *one* key, which

Mark next, in all their many-shifting hues,
 The softer Diplomatics of the Stews.
 See Rome, obsequious to some wanton Fair,
 Exalt her Gillo to the vacant Chair ;
 And call to sway surpassing carnal power
 Some lusty Priest from 'THEODORA'S bower. 230
 So schooled, her readier daughter learns to win
 An Apostolic heirloom for her kin :

the Apostle at the gate of Heaven refuses to acknowledge as genuine. "*Equidem argenteam Clavem utcumque agnosco, licet et solam, et multo dissimilem iis, quas olim mihi verus ille Ecclesiæ Pastor tradidit Christus.*"

v. 226. *Diplomatics of the Stews.*] These negotiations were fertile in what Baronius (ann. 908) terms, the *ordinationes, exordinationes, and superordinationes* of Popes: but hear him more at large on the same subject: "*Quam fædis sima Ecclesiæ Romanæ facies, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æquè ac sordidissimæ meretrices? quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, et, quod auditu horrendum et infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri earum amasii PseudoPontifices.*" (Ann. 912.)

v. 228. *Gillo.*] See Juvenal, i. 40; or Mr. Gifford's admirable adaptation of a passage which seemed to present insuperable difficulties to a translator.

v. 231. — *her readier daughter.*]

Expectas ut non sit adultera Largæ

Filia ?

Juvenal xiv. 25.

Thrice see MAROZIA's mongrel line aspire,
Sons piled on Sons who dare not claim a Sire.

v. 233. *Marozia*.] *Thrice*, on the authority of Gibbon ; who, however much he may sometimes endeavour to distort consequences, is rarely mistaken, or at a loss respecting facts. "The bastard son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the Chair of Peter." (XLIX.) John XI. (XII. of Platina) was her bastard son, by Pope Sergius III. ; for Eccard (*Orig. Guelfh II.*) is the solitary writer who controverts this descent. Sergius, also, it should be remembered, was the father of John X. (XI.) the paramour of Marozia's mother, Theodora. (Platina, and *La Cronique Martiniane*, fol. 104, c.) John XII. (XIII.) who assumed the Papacy at nineteen, was the grandson of Marozia ; his father was Alberic, her son by Albert, Marquess of Tuscany. This was the Pope who is reported to have been in the habit of swearing by Pagan Deities, and drinking the Devil's health. It must not be dissembled, that the generations of the above-named ladies are not quite clear ; the wonder, indeed, would be if they were more so. I cannot discover the *great grandson* of Marozia ; and Fleury (liv.) is inclined to assign John X. as the property of the *younger* Theodora, rather than of her mother. According to the character which Luitprandus has given of these ladies, it is not improbable that this Pontifical lover might be shared by both. *Scortum impudens*, he says of the mother ; and of the daughters, he adds, in relation to her, that they were *sibi non solum æquas verum etiam Veneris exortivo promptiores*.

Rer. Gest. per Europam, ii. 13.

(So blessed a progeny, if Fame speaks true,
 Mother of Godlings, Berecynthia knew.)
 If other arts ambitious hope employs,
 Whom Gold corrupts not, surer Steel destroys :
 And the red Idol mounts his guilty state,
 Upborn by Murder, Avarice, Lust, and Hate. 240

“Tut, Man!” methinks I hear some Liberal cry,
 “Lay all these clattering common-places by.

v. 236. *Berecynthia.*]

*Felix prole virum : qualis Berecynthia Mater
 Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrila per urbes,
 Læta Deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
 Omnes Cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.*

Æneid, i. 758.

Cybele's Godlings, like those of Marozia, were by different fathers ; Plutus, at least, without counting others, was by Iason. In one respect, the heathen lady was more fortunate than her antitype ; she had not any undutiful child, like Alberic, to condemn her to imprisonment. In this part of Marozia's history, Sigonius is a clear guide. (*De Regno Ital.* vi.)

v. 240. *Murder, Avarice, Lust, and Hate.*] *Aiebant*

- “ Monsters, at times, have sullied every throne;
 “ Rome’s groaned with BORGIA, HENRY cursed your
 own.
 “ How tight must be the vessel, you forget,
 “ Which Pilots such as these could ne’er upset.
 “ No hand the flail of Controversy plies,
 “ But scours off chaff from Johns and Gregories :
 “ Yet stores of grain within Rome’s garner lie,
 “ And sainted names grace Peter’s dynasty. 250
 “ Behold, less jaundiced, times untinged by stain,
 “ Mark CLEMENT’s meekness, URBAN’s lettered reign :

turpi quæstu, prodigiosis ac nefandis libidinibus, veneficiis, sacrilegiis, cædibus, Simoniacis nundinis, usque inquinata esse omnia.” *Julius Exclusus.*

v. 246. *Pilots such as these.*] *Non mersa igitur aperta hisce fluctibus navis, quia in ipsâ, licet dormiens, Christus erat.* Baronius (*Annal. Ecc. x. 679*); a passage, the sophistry of which is exposed by Mr. Southey in his best manner. (*Vind. Eccl. Anglic. 389.*)

v. 252. *Clement—Urban.*] Clement IV. is honorably distinguished for his rare abhorrence of Nepotism. “*Plus Deo quam affinitati et cognationi tribuisse videtur,*” is Platina’s remarkable eulogy, which speaks more as to the general character of the Papacy, than any direct accusation could do. The chief worthies under the reign of Barberini, Urban VIII.

“ Mix with your gall some drops of generous praise,
 “ Nor pass unheeded ‘ LEO’s golden days.”

Thanks for that name ! Hail days indeed of Gold !
 Days when Salvation’s scrip was bought and sold :
 When, priced for market, at each altar hung
 The Saviour “ Raphael painted,” “ Vida sung :”
 Some few loose ducats bought a foeman’s life,
 Flesh when forbidden, or too near a Wife : 260
 And not one crime in Hell’s dark blazon writ,
 Damned that offender who could pay for it.
 O ! for some portion of that beam which fell,
 To light the Goshen land of LUTHER’s cell :

are catalogued in the *Apes Urbanæ*, of Leo Allatius, Urban’s own Latin Poems, before he attained the Papal Chair, are well known, and are favourable specimens of his literary claims.

v. 257. — *priced for market.*] “ *Ab hoc errore uno tanta crevit seges sacrificulorum, ut, eum in omnibus angulis missæ palam ac publicè venderentur, Templâ Dei facta fuerint tabernæ meritoricæ, et miseris mortalibus persuasum fuerit nihil prorsus esse vendibilius.*” *Juelli Apologia.*

v. 258. “ *Raphael painted*”—“ *Vida sung.*”]

POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, 705.

Melted, like wax, the fetters which confined
 His prisoned strength, and freed his giant mind.
 Then rose the Warrior, girt his loins with might,
 And proved his harness ere he sought the fight :
 Truth nerved his breast, his feet the Gospel shod,
 Faith was his shield, his sword the Word of God. 270
 Weak against these was Rome's infuriate train,
 And Councils thundered, Cæsars raged in vain.
 O! for one sparkle of that Wit which plays
 With Wisdom toying ev'n in FOLLY'S PRAISE :
 Those shafts so brightly polished, keenly thrown,
 Which make ERASMUS more than half our own.

Thanks for another name, which teaches more,
 Than all the Virtues History has in store :
 Shews how the hands which Nature's beam control
 Adjust her balance fitly for the whole : 280
 Draw balm from poison, Good sublime from Ill,
 And dross to Gold transmute with Chemic skill.
 Mysterious agency ! " Free-will is mine
 " I cast the seed," Man cries, " and I design !"
 Cast as you may, a mightier power bestows
 The seed's increase, and reaps it in the close.

For what but Heaven itself to goodly end
The tyrant HENRY's hard-ruled course could bend?

v. 287. *What but Heaven itself.*] “How many strange accidents concurred in the whole business of Henry VIII. Divorce! yet we see Providence directed it and them to an entire change of the affairs and state of the whole Kingdom.”

SOUTH, *Sermon on Prov. xvi. 33.* (Vol. i. 211.)

v. 288. *The tyrant Henry's hard-ruled course.*] Shakespeare introduces Wolsey thus speaking of Anne Boleyn.

What, though I know her virtuous
And well-deserving? yet I know her for
A spleeny Lutheran, and not wholesome to
Our cause, that she should lie i' the bosom of
Our *hard-ruled* King.

Henry VIII. iii. 2.

It has been too much the fashion of late, to seek palliation for the crimes of this monster. As men of letters, Nero and Domitian, if antiquity is to be credited, were probably superior to him: in all other points he appears to have attained as close an equality to their “bad eminence,” as the difference of their respective times and habits would allow. If the attempts in Henry's defence are made from an idle fear that the Reformation itself may suffer, from an admission of the iniquity of the instruments which the wisdom of Providence saw fit to employ in advancing it, on a similar principle, pains might be taken to show that Pilate was a just judge,

Or bid an ever-during Temple stand
 Based, not on rock, but Passion's fleeting sand ? 290
 O ! pause awhile where Taste and Learning weep
 Above some stately Cloyster's shattered heap :
 O'er Art's rich stores hurled rudely to decay,
 And lettered wealth to Ignorance a prey.

and Judas a faithful disciple, lest Christianity should be disparaged by the wickedness of those who brought about the great event, consummating the scheme of Redemption.

v. 294. — *lettered wealth to Ignorance a prey.*] Bale, in his Preface to the "Laboryouse Journey and Search of John Leylande," 1549, has very feelingly touched upon the more than Gothic devastation which our Literature underwent, by the rapacity of those employed in the suppression of Monasteries. "But thys is byghly to be lamented of all them that have a naturall love to their country, eyther yet to lerned antiquyte, whyche is a moste syngular bewty to the same, that in turnynge over of the superstycyouse monasteryes, so lytle respecte we had to theyr lybraryes, for the savegarde of theyr noble and precyouse monumentes. I do not deny it, but the monkes, chanons, and fryares were wicked both wayes, as the oyled Bysboppes and Prestes, for the more part, are yet styll. Fyrst, for so much as they were the professed souldyours of Antiechrist; and next to that for so muche as they were most execrable lyvers. For these causes, I must confesse them most justly suppressed. Yet this would I have wysshed, (*and I scarcely utter it without teares,*) that the profytable corn had not so unadvysedly and ungodly perished

Mourn too with Charity, a holier name,
 Mourn those who fed the hungry, nursed the lame ;
 Toiled not themselves, but willing need employed ;
 The drones are scattered, but the Hive destroyed.

with the unprofytable chaffe, nor the wholesome herbes with the unwholsome wedes: I mean the worthy workes of men godly mynded, and lyvelye memoryalles of our nacyon, with those laysy lubbers, and popyshe belly-goddes."

And a little onward, he relates the following most striking illustrative anecdote. "A greate nombre of those whych purchased those supersteyouse mansyons reserved of those lybrarye bokes, some to serve their jakes, some to scoure their candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope-sellers, and some they sent over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes wholle shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. Yea the Unyversytyes of thys realme are not all clere in this detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye which seketh to be fedde with such ungodly gaynes, and so deeply shameth his natural contreye. I know a merchaunt man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contents of two noble lybraryes for xl shillings pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupyed, in stede of graye paper, by the space of more than these x yeares; and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come. A prodygyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men whych love their nacyon as they shoulde do."

298. — *the Hive destroyed.*] Latimer, in his first Sermon

Mark yet one sad and more domestic scene,
 A widowed Consort, a discepered Queen ! 300
 See Law to lawless rage her code adjust,
 And pandering Conscience hold the masque to Lust !
 Yet when the greatest stroke of Fortune fell
 No gusts of anger in her breast rebel :

before Edward VI. has given a striking instance of the wanton profanation of holy buildings in the times of which these lines are treating, " I was once offended with the King's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the King's Majesty that dead is, when Abbies stood. Abbies were ordained for the comfort of the poor ; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the King's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time ; the living of poor men thereby diminished and taken away."

This sacrilege was not exceeded by Cromwell's fanatics.

v. 302. — *pandering Conscience.*] " Thus being troubled in the waves of a scrupulous conscience,"—" and in relief of the weighty burden of scrupulous conscience,"—" wherein after I once perceived my conscience wounded," are among the pleas for his divorce advanced by Henry VIII. to his Council, as the speech is reported by Cavendish. (*Life of Wolsey*, Singer's ed. i. 155.) How accurate, in this instance, was Swift's illustration of conscience !

v. 303. *When the greatest stroke of fortune fell.*]

Of her,

That *when the greatest stroke of fortune falls,*
 Will bless the King. *Henry VIII. ii. 2.*

Tones of affection through her sorrows ring;
 'Tis " my dear Lord, my husband, and my King!"
 And on her lips the latest vows expire
 For Him whom " more than all" her "eyes desire."

And She, with laughing eyes and frolic smile,
 Who lit the torch which first illumed our Isle; 310
 Won loftier converts by her sportive vein
 Than ever bowed to Learning's sober train;
 Who, like a tender nursing-Mother, spread
 Her fostering arms above our infant bed;
 Alas! not all that Innocence can save
 That form so spotless from a bloody grave!
 Hard is the couch whereon the limbs are flung
 O'er which thy murderer, late enamoured, hung;
 And on thy slender neck, so deftly spann'd
 Falls the rude axe from an unshrinking hand! 320

v. 308. *Whom more than all her eyes desire.*] The well-known words of Katharine's last letter to Henry. It is printed by Burnet, (*Hist. of Ref.* ann. 1536.)

v. 319. — *slender neck.*] See the Letter of Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, giving an account of the carriage of Queen Anne Boleyn on the day of her execution. It is printed by Burnet, (*Hist. of Ref.* ann. 1536.)

So, clogged with darkness, on the troubled sight
 Broke the first gleams of purer Gospel light.
 Streaks blood-besprinkled, murky clouds and dun
 Obscured his march, and dimmed our orient Sun.
 Storms, wrapped in mist, before his chariot rode,
 And at his wheels fierce herald lightnings glowed
 The God of Day, on unobstructed skies,
 With pomp more radiant, less severe, may rise ;
 But when Night's shadowy troops outrun their time,
 And lagging Phantoms trespass upon prime,

330

The dangers of a favourite hypothesis were, perhaps, never more completely exhibited than in Mr. Sharon Turner's estimate of this cruelly-used and unhappy Queen. After clearing her most successfully, (in Ch. xxii. of his *Hist. of Henry VIII.* and his "Synopsis of Cardinal Pole's Tract, *Pro Eccl. unit. def.*" p. 623; two passages which should be studied by any one who still hesitates on the point in dispute;) Mr. Turner proceeds to consider the question of her guilt as to that charge which brought her to the scaffold. And here he seems much perplexed between his predominant sincerity and strong feelings of justice, and his anxiety not to reduce Henry below the imaginary standard of Virtue to which he has elevated him. The argumentative portion of his summary appears to be in favour of the Queen; and, (contrary to the habit of most other writers) the declamatory

Unwonted terrors arm his kindling eye,
Till the scared Fiends confess his power and fly.

Noon shone not yet ; but fairer was the dawn,
Hushed were the thunders, the dim rack withdrawn ;

part is against her. Yet, after an admission that the question must be left in a "charitable uncertainty," he afterwards includes her in common condemnation with Katharine Howard, as having "disgraced herself and produced her own destruction." (659.) Mr. Turner's research and industry are beyond all praise ; marks of a gentle and benevolent spirit are forcibly impressed on almost every page of his work ; and the mass of evidence which he has accumulated on facts, is of infinite value, even when he omits, as in the present instance, to draw from it the desirable and legitimate conclusion.

Dr. Lingard in his *Vindication* (101, &c.) has renewed the attack upon Anne Boleyn's *maiden* fame. He rests his charge, 1st, upon the birth of Elizabeth, seven weeks before the full time calculated from the marriage of the Queen. An argument which medical experience will pronounce to be wholly inconclusive, and which has more than once been advanced in favour of her chastity. 2dly, Upon an expression used by Cardinal Wolsey to Cavendish, in which he alluded "to the *secret* and *nocturnal* influence of Anne," whom he points out by the designation of "the night-crowe that cries ever in the King's ears against me." This appears to be a strange perversion of Wolsey's meaning. It is almost superfluous to quote passages in which the *night-crow* is in-

Its glowing front, with beams of life arrayed,
The brightened East triumphantly displayed.

roduced, not as possessing the "secret and nocturnal influence" exercised by a favourite mistress, but simply as a bird of ill-omen, such as Wolsey intended to describe Anne Boleyn to be to his fortunes. Shakspeare, speaking of Richard III. says

The Owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign,
The *Night-Crow* cry'd, aboding luckless time.

Henry VI. Part III.

So Marston also twice employs it in *Antonio and Mellida* :

No Spirit moves upon the breast of Earth,
Save howling Dogs, *Night-Crows*, and screeching Owls.

Night-Crows screech aloud,

Fluttering 'bout casements of departing souls.

3dly. upon the allotment of apartments in the Palace, and the familiar intercourse which, during three years, subsisted between the King and the Lady whom he loved. The appointment which Anne Boleyn held at Court, sufficiently accounts for both these circumstances : and the *Memoires* of Count Grammont teach us that a Monarch, certainly not less licentious than Henry, did not succeed with *all* the Maids of Honour, whom he solicited, in daily intercourse, and under the same roof.

After all, if Henry had already triumphed over Anne's virtue, why did he marry her ? The plain deduction from her admission to his throne, is, that she had refused to share his bed under any other condition.

Thus Egypt's floods the germs of fatness bear,
And Whirlwinds purify the tainted air.
What words the rapture of that hour can tell,
Which broke the Seals, and opened Sion's well ! 340
When springs of health, as at the Prophet's rod,
Gushed forth to slake the Soul athirst for God !
It seemed as if once more, on Cherub wing,
Announcing Angels heralded their King ;
Proclaimed anew Christ's unremembered birth,
And spake fresh tidings of great joy on Earth.
Lips, mute before, in worship claimed their share,
While the Heart, musing, kindled into Prayer ;
And countless tongues, in language of their own,
Adored the name as yet ineffable, unknown. 350

So, when beneath the Dog-star's glowing ball,
Earth gasps for showers, which long refuse to fall ;
If Æther, bending from Olympus' side,
Pour, in glad dews, his presence on his Bride,

353. *Æther bending from Olympus' side.*] The Critics shall not have the credit of discovering that Jupiter here is somewhat out of place. Such an introduction of him, however, might be defended on the very highest authority : for there is not any occasion, however sacred may be his theme, on which Milton has scrupled to borrow from the treasure-

Great Nature, panting for the blessed supply,
 Unfolds her matron bosom to the sky,
 Spreads forth her myriad cups, and drinks her fill,
 In herb, tree, flower, shrub, fountain, lake, and rill.

O ! lost too early, blessed beyond thine age,
 Prince, Patriot, Saint, and Statesman, Child and Sage! 360

house of Mythology, if he could thereby enrich his subject. The *ἱερὸς γάμος* described in the above lines is very favourite with the Poets of antiquity. Lucretius speaks of the season :

ubi imbres Pater Æther

In gremium Matris Terrai præcipitavit. I. 251.

A passage which Virgil has beautifully expanded. *Georg.* ii, 325.

Æschylus, long before, had similarly expressed himself in a fragment of the *Danaïdes* preserved by Athenæus XIII. 8. Ed. Casaubon.

ὄμβρος δ' ἅπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσών. κ. τ. λ.

But there is a still finer fragment, to the same purpose, remaining from the *Œdipus* of Euripides.

ἔρξ' μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅτ' ἂν ξηρὸν πέδον
 ἀκαρπτον αὐχμῷ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ.
 ἔρξ' δ' ὅ' σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
 ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.
 ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῇτον εἰς ταυτὸν δύο
 τίκτουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα, καὶ κρεφουσ' ἅμα,
 ὅθεν βρότειον ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

359. — *blessed beyond thine age.*] Dr. Lingard, while dis-

In Thee, Prophetic rapture so foretold,
Sucklings and Babes, the power of God unfold :

crediting the unanimous voice of contemporary History, respecting the extraordinary precocity of Edward VI., has rested his opposition (as he has done also in the similar case of Lady Jane Gray, whom it was his similar policy to undervalue) on the single difficulty presented by the tenderness of his age. It is not so easy, however, to overthrow the strong and numerous authorities collected by Strype, in the whole account of Edward's reign, (more particularly 11, 22.) and by Fox, ix. *ad init* : and even after making all the necessary deduction for the *prestige* of youthful Royalty, which may be supposed to have exercised its full influence over such a mind as that of Cardan, enough may be drawn from the well-known narrative of his interview with the Prince (*Lib. xii. de Genituris*, and printed by Burnet, *Hist. of Ref. Collections* ii. 1.) to convince even the most prejudiced that Edward was, in truth, to use the quaint language of the Astrologer, *monstrificus puellus*.

Dr. Lingard, throughout his summary of Edward's character, contents himself by advancing his own opinion against that of contemporaries. "His Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors that I could name, had at any time of their life." So says Latimer, who certainly was no the most courtly of Divines (2d *Sermon*.) "In abilities he was *equal*, perhaps superior, to most boys of his age," so writes Dr. Lingard, assuredly not the warmest of Panegyrists. Cavendish, a staunch Romanist, the friend, retainer, and

From beardless lips rich strains of Wisdom flow,
Unknown to hoary heads and locks of snow.

biographer of Wolsey, was not likely to raise his voice in commendation of the Reforming King, if any doubt existed as to his claims : and it is not the least among the many merits of that “good and faithful servant,” that he has not allowed the prepossessions of his Faith to pervert his sense of Justice. He speaks as follows of Edward, (then dead), in his uncouth rhymes, among much other praise :

In connyng and wysdome Solomon’s right heyer,

His wytt was so excellent, his sentence so profound ;
Absolon in beawtie, his visage was so fayer ;

If he myght have lyved, thier shold not have byn found
A Prynce more excellent raynyng on the ground.

Metrical Visions.

To this positive testimony Dr. Lingard opposes such hypothetical sentences as the following, “the *extravagant* praises, &c. *may be* received with *some degree* of caution,”—“it *may be* justifiable to *suspect*,” &c. The next concoctor of Party History will omit the qualifying *may be*, and substitute the positive *is*. Thus it is that Falsehood frequently slides into the place of Truth : and that what, in one generation, has been timidly proposed, in the succeeding is boldly asserted.

“*Itaque videmus vafros homines et callidos, quibus vera non suppeterent, semper verisimilibus pugnasse, ut qui rem ipsam penitus intueri non possent, specie saltem aliquâ et probabilitate caperentur.*”

Though Death, the canker, eat into thy Spring,
 Long before ripening Suns their promise bring,
 How rich the fragrance which, ere Being fails,
 From the crushed blossom Piety exhales !
 In yonder guardian walls, fair nurse of Youth,
 Who first bade Science minister to Truth ? 370
 Who poured the balm, the pillow smoothed, in those
 Where Pain, no longer hopeless, meets repose ?
 Who whispered mercy to the Soul's despair,
 And oped yon gates for penitence and prayer ?
 Go, count what centuries of conquest weigh,
 Poised with the few brief years of EDWARD's sway !
 Yet not for Thee, blessed Shade ! must tears be shed,
 Fair flower, transplanted to a fitter bed !
 Weep we for those who cheerlessly remain
 While Night encompasses their Ark again ; 380

v. 369. *In yonder guardian walls.*] The foundation of Christ's Hospital for the education of poor children, of St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's for the relief of the sick, and of Bridewell as a Penitentiary, were suggested to Edward VI. by a Sermon on Charity, preached before him by Ridley. These were among the last acts of his life. The anecdote is well told in the *Book of the Church*, ii. 133; and by Sir John Hayward. *Life and Raigne of Edward VI.* 169.

And, mocked by visionary Hope's decay,
 Gaze on the track of Glory pass'd away.
 What scroll is red enough for MARY's name?
 What characters must write it?—Blood and Flame!
 With Faith which purged not, but perplexed the sight,
 Too much false Learning ever to be right;
 Sufficient Zeal Life's charities to stem,
 Not to a heavenward channel pilot them;
 With just enough of mother-wit and skill,
 To harden, not correct ungoverned will; 390
 All Woman's weakness, but that gentle part
 Fitter than Reason's strength to sway the Heart;
 Stern, selfish, melancholy, stubborn, slow,
 Who never spared, nor ever felt a blow.
 Without one failing of a generous mind,
 Which Love may fetter or Ambition blind;
 One touch of fiery-mettled mood, to plead
 The stings of Passion for some headlong deed;
 A nice precisian in degrees of Hate,
 And strict the account of Blood to calculate; 400

v. 384 *Blood and Flame.*]

Solum elementum Ignis, sceptrum gestante Mariâ.

Gab. Harvey. *Musarum Lacrymæ.*

By Rule She butchered, and arranged the stake,
 As her Creed prompted her, for Conscience sake.
 Scanned by her blindness, God himself appears
 Not Love's perfection, but the source of Fears :
 In wrath, not pity, the Redeemer dies,
 And Mercy yields her place to Sacrifice.
 Hence the grim Priestess fancied merit claims
 As each new victim gluts the atoning flames ;
 And, while the accursed holocausts ascend,
 Sees Christ, like Moloch, to the banquet bend. 410

v. 409. — *the accursed holocausts.*] Authentic records prove, that during the four years of the Marian Persecution, 288 persons were burned alive for Heresy. Dr. Lingard, has lowered this tale of blood to "almost 200;" but the document printed by Strype (*Eccl. Mem. Mary. Originals*, lxxxv.) from the MS. of Lord Burleigh, establishes the greater number beyond all doubt; and this, exclusive of such as died in prison, under *harsh treatment and torture*. The enormous cruelty of this Persecution may, in some degree, be illustrated by a reference to the number of executions for *all* capital crimes, which occur in our own times, when the population has been so largely increased, under a Criminal Code, which is stigmatized, perhaps not unjustly, as inflicting the punishment of Death too frequently. By an official return, which now lies before me, it appears that there were executed in *England and Wales*, during the four consecutive years, 1805-6-7-8, 247 persons: a number which cannot be

Joy to that holy Army ! These have trod
 Through toil and anguish to the throne of God.
 Their thirst, the Lamb, from living founts supplies,
 And wipes all tears for ever from their eyes ;
 With Palms, from Eden gathered, decks their hands,
 And clothes, in robes of white, his martyred bands.
 For not with mourning wail and funeral cry,
 Nor ev'n with manlier sorrow's stifled sigh ;
 Nor the fierce Zealot's unadvised disdain,
 Fired by some passing fever of the brain ; 420
 But meek, though steadfast, fearless, though resigned,
 They tempted not the trial, nor declined.
 Age heard the summons, and, in glad retreat,
 Pillowed his head beneath his Saviour's feet ;
 With quickened step the abiding City gained,
 And leaped the barrier which from bliss detained ;
 Counting each drop of blood which from him ran,
 Bequeathed in legacies of love to Man.

regarded without most painful feelings ; but which, nevertheless, is less by 41 than that of the Martyrs of the Church of England during an equal period of time.

v. 411. ——— *these have trod*

Through toil and anguish to the throne of God.

Revelations, vii. 9—17.

Such were the hopes which lightened HOOPER's pain ;
Such prompted LATIMER's prophetic strain ; 430
" Cheer thee, my Brother !" was that old man's cry,
" The light we kindle dies not when *we* die."
Youth with like promptness to the call replied,
And dashed Life's scarcely-tasted cup aside ;
And, while its freshest sweets his lips impress,
Preferred the wholesome draught of bitterness.
Mark, too, with willing but reluctant care,
What hands the bidden robe of death prepare ?
Hands, which before to-morrow's Sun shall part,
Must fold the desart of a widowed heart. 440
The Babe, unconscious, smiling at her breast,
Furthers the task, and speeds the fatal vest :
That vest avouches, as it yields to flame,
A Father's purity, a Mother's fame.

v. 438. — *the bidden robe for death.*] See the letter of Laurence Saunders to his wife, desiring her to send him a shirt for his martyrdom, " which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." It is printed entire by Fox (iii. 118) and part of it in *The Book of the Church*, (ii. 148.) Fox has given other letters of Saunders, (*ibid.* 113), and of Bishop Hooper (131) to their respective wives, which cannot be read without the deepest interest.

She weeps not o'er it ; tears would but profane
 The holy bond which frees her love from stain ;
 And dim the bright assurance of her Mind,
 Man cannot sunder those whom God has joined.

The kindled beacons Spain with joy surveyed,
 Approved the work of love, and lent her aid : 450
 Revealed the secrets of that juggling Art
 Which, drop by drop, wrings life-blood from the heart.

v. 451. — *that juggling Art.*] For the tone and temper in which the judicial examinations of persons suspected of Heresy ought to be conducted by a faithful Romanist, consult that inimitable Manual, *Ars et Methodus inquirendi et damnandi quoscunque Hæreticos, secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curie ; a solenni quodā Magistro Nostro, Fratре Ordinis Prædicatorū cōpositus. Omnibus Fidelibus, præsertim Hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitoribus scitu dignissimus. Parisiis, 1519.* It is a most choice specimen of that grave irony, which was so favourite and so powerful a weapon in the hands of the Reformers. Take one Canon for example. *Oportet Inquisitorem, secundum Apostolum, cum omni patientiâ et modestiâ, omnia experiri si possit animum lucrari Deo. Post hoc, productis digitis, enumeret sibi, de digito in digitum, aliquid terribile simul insonans, vel de igne vel aliâ pœnâ, articulos de quibus examinandus est, juxta mentem Papæ ; et dicat “ Credis hoc an non ? si credis, omnia tua revocabis ; si non, combureris.”* And again, “ *Simul quoque multis quæstionibus, juxta Aristotelem in Elenchis, vexetur ; ut in diverso distractus, et in diversos intentus, aliquid dicat quod*

That Art which profits by the bosom's strife,
 When thoughts, raised heavenward, linger yet on Life ;
 For different moods which different arms prepares,
 Clenches the feeble grasp, the strong ensnares ;
 Hope in the lofty wakes, the lowly fear,
 There lures with promise, scares with menace here ;
 Or dooms to gnawing solitude a prey
 Tempers which brighten in the fire's assay. 460

possit juvare. Num oportet Diabolum suis quoque artibus aliquem superare ; nec semper in digito Dei Dæmonia ejicere, sed malum malo pellere. Habet enim Evangelium suam epikeiam. Nam Inquisitor debet sperare quod comburetur Hæreticus omnino, ne cum confusione cesset ab officio.

Once more for a precept, which the Father of Lies himself might have suggested : *et semper aliquis risus fiducialis intermiscendus, sic tamen ut non fiat cachinnus indecens ; nam cum gravitate et suavitate oportet hanc rem et multâ maturitate tractare.* Whoever will take the trouble of comparing this little satire with the grave work of a real Inquisitor, must be forcibly impressed by their resemblance to each other. For this purpose he may turn to the *Tractatus novus aureus et sollemnis de Hæreticis, clarissimi famosissimique Jurisconsulti Joannis Calderini : in quo omnia quæ ad officium Inquisitorum contra Hæreticam pravitatem spectant, ita ordinatè, subtiliter et magistraliter in quadragintauno capitibus tractantur, ut nil ordinatius, subtilius et magistratius tractatum desiderari possit.* Venetiis printed (most appropriately) *ad Candentis Salamandræ insigne*, 1571. The contents amply justify the Title page.

(So Gold, when purest, leaves no dross behind,
 Yet bends most readily, as most refined.)
 Not at that moment when his fate drew nigh,
 And the piled stake already met his eye ;
 When Death, with agonizing step and slow,
 Approached, but lingered on the uplifted blow ;
 When present Vengeance, Hate, and Scorn assailed,
 Not *then* the meek and gentle CRANMER failed.
 Strong o'er his weakness, then the Martyr broke
 Fear's tangled snare, and struggled from her yoke ; 470
 Dissolved the Tempter's subtly-woven spell,
 Renewed his warfare, and defeated Hell.
 " This hand, this guilty hand," his grief exclaims,
 " Which first offended, first shall meet the flames !"
 Firm to their trust the unshrinking sinews stay,
 Redeem his pledge, and slowly waste away.
 The flames, as mindful of his nobler part,
 Consume the hand, but leave untouched his heart.

v. 462. *So Gold.*]

Their tongue, enfeebled, is refined too much,
 And, like pure Gold, it bends at every touch.

Dryden. *Epistle xii. To Mr. Motteaux.*

v. 478. — *leave untouched his heart.*] On what a base of
 miraculous agency would this remarkable fact have been
 made to rest, if the victim had been a Roman Catholic.

God of the Just ! how long shall bigot rage
Blast the fair garden of thine heritage ? 480
Slumbers thine eye in this dread hour of need ?
Dost thou forget, or cast away thy seed ?
Mark, busy murmurer ! how that seed shall grow
In dews of sainted blood which round it flow !
The Martyrs' ashes fructify the soil,
And the Vine bears without the dresser's toil.
Below, how firmly strike its deepened roots !
Above, how brightly glow its clustering fruits !
Its ample round encompasses the hills,
Spreads to the sea, the bordering river fills ; 490
Strong, for himself, the Lord its fence has made,
And chased the forest spoilers from its shade.

v. 485. *The Martyrs' ashes fructify the soil.*] Strype (*Eccl. Mem. Mary. ch. xxxvi.*) refers to a letter addressed to Bonner soon after the burning of Philpot, which shows how falsely the Papists calculated in supposing that they should gain proselytes by terror. The writer warns the Bishop, "that as for the obtaining of his Popish purpose in suppressing of the truth, he put him out of doubt he should not obtain it so long as he went this way to work ; and that he verily believed they had lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists, within this twelvemonth."

Long years of gladness smoothly rolled away,
 Beneath the sunshine of ELISA'S sway.
 Prompt, brave, and wise, she silenced all alarms,
 Rome's frauds exposed, discomfited her arms.
 New storms, in reigns succeeding, tossed the State,
 And Faction roused the floods of Civil hate ;
 Till the chafed seas our shattered bark o'erwhelm,
 And wash the wakeful Pilot from the helm. 500
 O'er either CHARLES let sober judgment bend,
 The life of each observe, then note his end.
 This, while Rebellion hunts her victim down,
 Prefers a stainless Conscience to a Crown.
 Yields all but that which gives to all its price,
 And bleeds for Faith a willing Sacrifice.

v. 499. — *the wakeful Pilot.*]

Clavumque adnixus et hærens

Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.

Æneid v. 852.

v. 505. *Yields all but that which gives to all its price.*]
 Never let it be forgotten, as Warburton has reminded us, that Charles I. died a martyr for the Church of England. Read his answer to the Commissioners in the Isle of Wight, when they urged the abolition of Episcopacy ; “ that he had granted all he could to save his life which might consist with the saving of his soul.” Or, still later, on his trial, “ Since I

That, drunk with Pleasure's heart-benumbing bowl,
 Breathes but for self, half Monarch and half droll;
 Lives as if Life were only some rich toy,
 A Bauble Wise men sport with, Fools employ. 510
 When Mirth retreats with all her careless train,
 And leaves his lonely couch to Death and Pain;
 (No jest those grim attendants e'er beguiled,
 And He, who beckons now, has never smiled.)
 Behold, the apostate in his shroud, expire,
 False to Himself, his Country, and his Sire!

see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the liberty of the subject, I shall wave it—I shall speak nothing to it. But only I must tell you that this many a day all things have been taken away from me but that which I call dearer to me than my life, which is my Conscience and my Honour: and if I had a respect to my life more than to the peace of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for myself; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me.”

Speech before the Regicide Court, Jan. 27.

v. 516. *False to himself, his Country, and his Sire.*] With what feelings of bitterness ought not this “bad man, and bad King” (the words are those of Mr. Fox, and they convey a much fitter character than “the merry Monarch”) to have recalled on his death-bed, after receiving extreme unction from

Strange fraud ! to live without a God, yet die
Proving ev'n this ungodliness a lie.

But see, once more, the vizor cast away,
Rome bares her forehead, and confronts the day : 520
Assumes her lordly station by the Throne,
And deems the People, like the Prince, her own.
Vain hope ! the general heart is firm and free,
And few to Baal bend a willing knee.

Father Huddlestone, those instructions which, if not the very words of his martyred Father, assuredly conveyed his inmost sentiments. " Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in your Religion ; the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated : yet I would have your own judgment and reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens' custom or tradition, which you profess."

" In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's word for doctrine, and to the primitive examples for government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, tho' in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your Soul's than for your Kingdom's peace, when God shall bring you to them."

Eikon Basilike, xxvii. *To the Prince of Wales.*

Heard you the shouts which rang from yonder train?
Those bursts of triumph from the tented plain?
What foe has perished? What new field is won?
What course of Glory now has Valour run?
Not to the warrior does the palm belong;
Hands, weak in battle, have despoiled the strong; 530
The meek has vanquished, and the mighty bowed,
The humble plucked his laurel from the proud.
No right abandoned, no allegiance stained,
Faith kept with God, yet Cæsar not disdained;
To Heaven, their cause, the pious champions trust,
Meet Law's decree, and find their Country just.
Hark! while again the sounds of gladness swell,
The Priestrid slave acknowledges his knell.
Fear speeds his flight.—Ambition has no wings
Like those which quicken abdicated Kings. 540
And what the close? Through Life's remaining round,
Dishonored, exiled, needy, spurned, uncrowned,

v. 525. — *The shouts.*] The cry of joy raised by the soldiers encamped at Hounslow, when they heard of the acquittal of the seven Bishops, awakened the most lively fear in James. “Call you *that* nothing?” was his well-known remark on the occasion.

He wrings, like some mock Monarch in a Play,
Precarious charity from foreign pay.

A ball, which Louis, in War's royal game,
Strikes, as he lists, with sportiveness of aim :
A mark, at which his heartless jests may pass,
" Behold, who lost three Kingdoms for a Mass !"

And Those, who, while contagion onward pressed,
Before the living stood, and checked the pest ; 550
What meed awaits them ? What award of praise
A rescued Nation's gratitude displays ?

v. 544. *Precarious charity from foreign pay.*] James's own *Memoirs* sufficiently depict the miseries of his dependence upon the French Court, and the convenient uses to which he was applied, whenever it suited that Government to hold him up *in terrorem* against the English, and, after the immediate purpose was answered, to abandon him. Instances of this conduct may be seen in the coldness manifested by Louis XIV. in his interview with the exiled King at St. Germaines, after the sea-fight off Beachey-head ; in the unwillingness to press his pretensions after the extensive successes in 1693 ; and in the juggle which was practised during the Calais expedition in 1696. Of the *bounty* of the *Grand Monarque*, James speaks in explicit terms, during the siege of Limerick : " supplies of money from France, which were so exceeding hard to be got, so long in coming, and so little when it came, that it only served to make his authority linger a while longer, but could not preserve it from certain death in the end."

Memoirs, ii. 421.

Not for themselves they watched the honeyed store,
 The Hive protected, sentinelled its door ;
 Quick to defend, contented to resign
 When Duty draws, perhaps too close, a line.
 Go, venom'd slanderers ! ye who taint the fame
 Which breathes fresh odours round some martyred name;
 If CRANMER fail to shame the ungenerous lie,
 And teach your rancour how the Good can die ; 560

v. 555. — *contented to resign.*] Five of the seven Bishops, to whose undeviating firmness the preservation of the Church of England from the attempts of James II. is chiefly owing, namely, Sancroft the Primate, Ker of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, and White of Peterborough, refused to take the new oaths of allegiance to William III. and were deprived in consequence. We look in vain throughout History for conduct of more disinterested purity.

The character of Archbishop Sancroft, in his closing years, is touched with very nice discrimination by Dr. D'Oyly, in his *Life* of that Prelate.

v. 559. — *the ungenerous lie.*] “ The grievous lie,” as Strype (*Ecc. Mem. Mary.* xxx.) with fitting indignation terms the speech fabricated by Bonner for Cranmer ; “ and many other thynges also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales,” as the Primate writes respecting himself in a Letter to Hawkyns, the Ambassador to the Emperor, cited by Mr. Todd. (*Vindication*, 61.)

Accept the lesson **SANCROFT**'s fall must give,
Bereft of all but Conscience, how to live !

So 'mid each change of good and evil days,
Dishonor, glory, persecution, praise,
Whose zeal no triumph slackened, toil dismayed,
Our Sires, in Christ, their goodly platform laid :
And bade their Sons an easier task fulfil,
'To guard the rich inheritance from ill.
Is History blank then ? long Experience vain ?
Has this rough path been trodden without gain ? 570
Draw we no wisdom from the speaking past ?
No glance of foresight to the future cast ?
Shall all our Temple's glory pass away,
The Rock of Ages shattered in a day ?
And while the hot assail, the subtle mine,
Our strength shall drivelling apathy resign ?

But Time, who gently brushes with his wing
The gathered dust from Throne, Church, every thing ;
Whose gradual tooth wears rocks of hardest grain,
Levels the high, and makes rough places plain ; 580
Slow, silent, sure Reformer,—has he flown,
And left his course untracked on Rome alone ?

Still, at her nod, do suppliant Princes bow ?
Still flames the undimmed Tiara on her brow ?
Still to that voice do fear-struck Nations turn
Which bids them worship at one shrine—or burn ?

Shorn of her might, the heaven-abandoned Queen
Sits but the shade of what she once has been.
Her sceptre moulders in the dust.—Agreed :
But what has Time effected for her Creed ? 590

Tell me how Reason shall her batteries range,
To change whose Pride affirms she cannot change ?
God's Vicar from Supremacy deter ?

Or prove Infallibility can err ?

How 'mid those fields shall wave the golden grain
Which darnel choaks, and cumbering tares profane ;

Where, with perverted art, the tiller feeds

His corn with far less nurture than his weeds ?

Behold Rome creep along her tangled way,
To-morrow teaching all she taught to-day : 600

Through the same maze her trodden steps renew,

Still unprogressive, for without a clue.

Confute her doctrines ; spite of all your pain,

Their ghosts are never laid, but walk again.

v. 592. — *she cannot change.*] Mr. Allwood has collected a very valuable mass of information on this point, in his *Brief Remarks on the Declaration of the Catholic Bishops.*

Sever one head ; a thousand added grin ;
 O'erthrow her ; keener must the strife begin :
 The touch of kindred Earth new strength supplies,
 But hold her up to Heaven, the Monster dies.

Hark ! for ev'n now the chase is fresh begun,
 The cry is up, the dogs, uncoupled, run : 610
 The bold, the cautious, swift of foot, and lame,
 All rush afield, insatiate for their game.
 But truce awhile to figure ; let us trace
 Our foes unmetaphored, and face to face.

When some MILESIAN TULLY mounts the form
 Gruff roars the thunder, rudely pelts the storm,

v. 608. *Hold her up to Heaven, the Monster dies.*]

*Herculeis pressum, sic fama, lacertis
 Terrigenam sudasse Libyn, cùm, fraude repertâ,
 Raptus in excelsum, nec jam spes ulla cadendi,
 Nec licet extremâ Matrem contingere plantâ.*

Statius. *Thebaid*, vi. 893.

v. 615. *Milesian.*] A descent to which the Irish have as
 assured a claim as our countrymen to that which has been
 imagined for them from King Brute.

v. 616. *Gruff roars the thunder.*]

*Strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus: ut subito, ut properè, ut
 validè tonuit!*

Plautus. *Amphitruo*.

Flash after flash, the fierce invectives blaze,
 Brute bolts, chance-scattered, launched but to amaze.
 So rosined lightnings gleam across the stage,
 When Pantomimic blasts on pasteboard rage. 620
 The rumbling Rhetoric rolls and rattles out
 (For Sense, no matter with it or without,)
 Periods, where meaning seldom interlopes,
 Dark with the bright obscure of muddled Tropes :
 Where mismatched metaphors, joined head and tail,
 Begin like woman, finish "like a whale."
 Here we may smile : but if stern Hate invade
 The couch where suffering and disease are laid ;
 If factious Malice blast with evil eyes
 A Prince for whom a Nation's vows arise ; 630
 (Alas ! ere finished is the Poet's strain,
 A Nation's eager vows arise in vain.)
 His shield of weakness from the Fool is torn,
 We loathe the reptile whom we did but scorn.
 Unchecked, the Zany may his stage ascend,
 Display his antics, and his nostrums vend ;

v. 618. *Brute bolts.*] *Bruta fulmina et vana, quæ nullâ veniunt ratione Naturæ.* Plin: ii. 41., or, as Holland has translated it, aptly enough for our present purpose, "Here-upon come those brutish and vain lightnings, such as have no naturall reason."

One panacea deal for every pang ;
 But, if the wretch mix poison,—he must hang !

In softer temper, and less fiery guise,
 The grave HISTORIAN to his task applies. 640
 Sleek, snug, and subtle, round about his hole
 He grubs, and worms the dirt up, like a Mole :
 Toils under ground, and from its covert rears
 The dark deposit of forgotten years.
 His dingy labours open and enlarge
 Tale, whisper, scandal, imputation, charge ;
 Blasts of suspicion which reproof defy,
 Base fraud, lame slander, groundless calumny.—
 Survey this Painter's gallery ! On his walls
 He hangs no heads but right originals. 650
 New rules of Art direct his light and shade,
 And all his portraits dress in masquerade.
 If pure and honoured names to scorn be thrown,
 Love claims the gentle GARDINER as her own :

v. 654. — *the gentle Gardiner.*] The proverbial infamy of Bonner is too sufficiently established to need fresh illustration here ; for as the unknown writer of a letter addressed to him has observed, “ every child can say that can any whit

RIDLEY's a traitor, renegade, and knave,
 But Peace and Mercy weep o'er BONNER's grave.
 Mute and confounded, at the scene we stare,
 And ask what History this is? When and where?

speak, 'Bloody Boner is Bishop of London.' " (Printed by Strype. *Originals*, *Mary*, l.)

But the testimony of this Prince of Persecutors may be fairly adduced as to his coadjutor Gardiner, whom Henry VIII. while on his death-bed, repeatedly prohibited from being one of his Executors; and for whose exclusion from his Son's Council he left a peremptory injunction, couched in marked terms; "for he is so wilful and contentious that you shall never be quiet if he be among you." (Earl of Warwick's Evidence on Gardiner's Trial, referred to by Strype, *Eccl. Mem. Mary*. xxxv.)

Bonner writes of him as follows in a Letter to Cromwell, (referred to in Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, ii. 110.) After mentioning his "hard heart and cankered malicious stomach," his "vain glory and pride; evil intent and purpose," he adds, "He having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the King's affairs, than relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will." Such was Bonner's representation of him, whom Father Persons describes as "a most tender hearted and mild man." (*Watch-word*, 41,) a testimony for the disapproval of which Dr. Lingard challenges the world to produce a single instance. (*Vindication*, 93.)

Strype, moreover, has given an extract from one of Hooper's

So meets the gaze of some astonished Clown
 That sportive piece, THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE
 DOWN. 660

letters, reciting the treatment endured by that Martyr while under confinement by Gardiner's order. He calls him emphatically, "God's enemy and mine." (*Eccl. Mem. Mary. xxii.*) The portrait drawn of him as "*Doctor of Practices*," by his successor, Bishop Ponet, in his "*Treatise of Political Powers*," is plainly a caricature; but caricatures are exaggerations, not inventions; and the features which they select, for the most part, have some natural distortion, whereon the satirist is tempted to enlarge. The 'swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws like the Devil, talons on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer than his natural toes, and so tyed to with sinews that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones;" this representation of the "old monster" with "a vengeable wit," would not have been hazarded by a contemporary, however bitter an opponent, against a man, than whom, as Persons continues, no one "was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from cruelty and revenge."

v. 655. *Ridley's a traitor, renegade, and knave.*] Ridley, says Dr. Lingard, (*Mary*, ch. ii.) "obtained preferment in the Church by the favour of Cranmer. During the reign of Henry, he imitated his patron, by conforming to the theological caprice of the Monarch." "Unfortunately, his zeal for the new doctrines, led him to support the treasonable projects

Awhile with gaping silence and surprise,
He marks Earth tower above the inverted Skies ;

of Northumberland." On his committal to the Tower, " he had the weakness to betray his conscience, by conforming to the ancient worship, but his apostacy was severely lashed by the pen of Bradford."

There is not any part of this statement which does not admit of satisfactory contradiction.

1st. Ridley, who, as Cavendish describes him, was " a little man, but great divine," was patronized by Cranmer ; but so far was he from *imitating* his Patron, that it was by Ridley's suggestion that Cranmer was induced to investigate the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the rejection of it by both of them was the consequence.

2dly. So far was he from *conforming to the Theological caprice* of Henry VIII. that we find him, in conjunction with Cranmer, opposing the Six Articles, although he himself at that time believed in the corporal presence, and never was married. But the words of the accusation are almost borrowed from Persons, who says of Ridley, that " he was as forward to favour the King's proceedings, and will in all things, and to burn Heretics while he lived, as was Cranmer, or any other Bishop else"—although, as Dr. Gloster Ridley has pointedly observed, the Martyr was not consecrated Bishop till after Henry's decease.

3dly. In preaching in favour of Lady Jane Gray's title, it is unjust to accuse Ridley of *supporting the treasonable projects of Northumberland*. He acted in conformity to the

Seas shift with land, with hills vales interchange,
And where a Dolphin swam a Lion range :

Will of Edward VI. in deference to the opinion of the Crown-Lawyers, and in obedience to the commands of the Council : and although no one, in the present day, can hesitate to admit that this unhappy Lady's title was not valid, and that her Father-in-law's designs were ambitious and treasonable, it should be remembered, that at the time at which Lady Jane Gray's claim was advanced, the Constitutional law of succession was far from being well defined, and the doubts raised by the Canonists as to the legitimacy of Mary's birth, had by no means subsided.

4thly. Fox, in a note, unsupported by any authority, (iii. 836,) says, that Ridley, while prisoner in the Tower, went *once* to Mass. This, (if the story be true) is the extent of his *weak betrayal of conscience, by conforming to the ancient-worship*. The Martyrologist adds, that Bradford wrote "an effectual letter to persuade him from the same." This, (if such letter ever was written) is the *severe lashing for apostacy* which Ridley received. But there are very cogent reasons for believing that Fox was mis-informed in point of fact. 1st. No such letter as that which he describes is extant among the many by Bradford, which have been preserved. 2dly. As has been forcibly urged, by Dr. G. Ridley, (434) the whole of the *First Conference with Latimer*, speaks in plain disproof of the assertion. 3dly. With somewhat of an almost prophetic spirit, the great Martyr, while in prison, himself rebutted the accusation. He wrote to Bradford : "Good Brother, *let the wicked surmise and say what they*

In like perversion, Steeds their Grooms bestride,
 Boors drag the wondering plough, and Oxen guide :
 Age, wrapped in swaddling clothes, the rattle bear,
 And Childhood dictate from the Sage's Chair.
 Perplexed, though tickled, he beholds the sight,
 And doubts if marvels, such as these, be right ; 670
 Till wakened judgment blames the fond conceit,
 And notes the shrewd inventor for a cheat.

list, know you, for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's Gospel cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully resolved to live and die." And again, yet more emphatically, "*As for the rumours that have and do go abroad, either of our relenting or* MASSING, we trust that they which know God, and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be light in credence."

Assuredly, if there be any evidence afforded by language, and any sincerity in the declarations of man, these are not the words which would proceed from the weak and conscience-smitten Apostate whom Dr. Lingard describes.

v. 660. *The World turned upside down.*] A cut, under this title, representing all the absurdities here mentioned, was familiar to me in boyhood, arranged with ballads and other similar ware against many dead walls in London. I have not seen it of late years.

v. 666. — *the wondering plough.*]

Miranti sub aratro.

Juv. xiii. 65.

We pass the rest, a nameless, nibbling fry,
 Spawned but to vent their little dirt, and die.
 On such we pause not ; let them spit their hate ;
 Our war is with Leviathan the great.

True to ourselves, (may Heaven still guard us so,
 Unharm'd by specious friend, or open foe !)
 Our Ark her charge of holiness may guide
 Amid these monsters which beset her side. 680
 From Earth's abyss, though gushing founts arise,
 Though Vengeance ope the floodgates of the Skies ;
 She rides triumphant ; while, for many a rood,
 Extinct, around her, floats the Giant brood.
 And mark, when once again the waters shrink,
 And the great deeps, in thirsty channel, drink,
 How, moored on Ararat's unshattered crest,
 Her keel shall find its solitary rest.

v. 686. — *the great deeps.*] תְּהוֹמוֹת רָבָה Gen. vii. 11.
 The *abyss* of Moses: for a full explication of which term,
 refer to Burnet's most delightful and poetical work, *The
 Sacred Theory of the Earth*, i. 7.

Thence issue forth, Physicians of the Mind,
The Heaven-taught Teachers of renewed Mankind ; 690
From darkling Nations purge their Moral Night,
And bear abroad GOD'S UNEXTINGUISHED LIGHT.

THE END.

William Donne Esq^r

with the Author's kind regards

THE STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY
ESSENTIALLY GENERAL IN THEIR NATURE.

THE

COMMEMORATION SERMON

PREACHED IN

TRINITY COLLEGE CHAPEL,

ON THURSDAY, DEC. 15, 1836.

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, M.A.

FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED AT THE PITT PRESS, BY JOHN W. PARKER,
UNIVERSITY PRINTER:
FOR J. & J. J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE;
AND JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XXXVI.

TO
THE MASTER,
FELLOWS, AND STUDENTS,
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE,
THIS DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED BEFORE THEM,
IS INSCRIBED,
WITH FEELINGS OF THE DEEPEST RESPECT
AND MOST AFFECTIONATE INTEREST,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

S E R M O N,

&c.

JEREMIAH VI. 27.

I have set thee for a tower and a fortress among my people, that thou mayest know and try their way.

ANOTHER year has passed away since we met together here to celebrate our solemn Festival;—to recall the memories of those great men, whose fame has so richly repaid the debt they owed to their Foster-mother, —to indulge ourselves in a laudable pride at the recollection of so glorious an ancestry,—to commemorate the liberality of the benefactors to whom this place owes the powers of utility which it possesses,—to return thanks to Almighty God, the Giver of every good gift, for the blessings which we enjoy,—and to beg that he will enable us by his grace so to follow the good examples of those which have gone before us, that like them we may, by usefulness to our fellow-creatures, glorify His Name. And although the bond which connects us together is less close than those ties which draw the members of the same family annually around the paternal hearth, still we have enough in common to make a meeting of this sort something very different from a casual assemblage of persons unconnected with each other

The usual period of sojourn in this place, falls in a part of life when the hopes are most ardent,—the affections most confiding,—the feelings most disinterested. Here, consequently, more friendships, and closer ones, are formed, than can well be the case afterwards:—and the recollections of these years are perhaps one of the richest treasures of subsequent life. Under such circumstances, the return of an occasion like the present cannot but awake many serious, if not sad, feelings. Although we do not behold the empty chair which was filled when the family circle last met, there are probably many of us compelled by this occasion to remember ties, which, since we last met, death has dissevered,—or diverging destinies separated scarce less completely. But associations of this sort, although the most pressing, are not the only ones. There are others—and those not weak—which bind us all together, the oldest with the youngest. Those who have become in a more permanent manner connected with these Institutions, have all passed through the same course, in which the younger part of you are still engaged. They can sympathise with all your hopes and fears,—with all your difficulties,—with all your temptations;—for they have been themselves exposed to the same ordeal. They know how hard it is to acquire habits of industry and self-control,—to resist the allurements of sloth or of pleasure. They are aware too of that impatience of external restraint which ardent and enthusiastic spirits often feel;—of the desire, which, on the mind first becoming conscious of its expanding powers, urges it to launch out into the wide ocean of multifarious knowledge;—and of the unwillingness with which

it suffers itself to be drawn back from so tempting a career, and forced for a time to employ its energies on subjects which it conceives to be narrow and useless. Far be it, indeed, from us, however both individually and by the system which we support we may discountenance such opinions, to indulge in any asperity or intolerance towards them. The same experience which gives us an insight into their baselessness, also teaches us that in very many instances they are only the transitory symptoms of a particular stage in the development of the human faculties,—and sometimes, like the rank vegetation of a new soil, an evidence of the highest degree of future fertility.

That toleration, on the other hand, which we feel ourselves bound to exercise towards opinions and feelings such as I have alluded to,—we have a right to claim from those whose education has been committed to our hands. On our part we demand of them a *tentative* faith in us, and in the discipline to which we subject them;—we require that they should place so much confidence in our Scheme of Education as is requisite in order to put it fairly to the trial;—that they should believe that our preference for certain studies as instruments of cultivation,—our rigorous observance of times and seasons,—our avoidal of those subjects which have a more direct bearing upon the pursuits of after-life,—do not proceed from a want of consideration of the question, nor from the influence of old habits of thought;—but from a carefulness for their best interests, guided by long and accurate examination, and based upon experience. In the few

remarks, therefore, which I propose making upon some of the principles which occupy a prominent position in the Academical system of Education, I would neither be understood to take upon me the part of a panegyrist, nor to offer any violence to the opinions of those who may entertain different views from my own on these subjects. For a proper exposition of what our institutions *profess* to furnish, this opportunity is obviously quite inadequate;—for an examination how far such professions are justified by the results, experience furnishes the only means. My desire is, in a spirit of the most friendly admonition,—the spirit of an elder brother addressing younger ones,—to throw out a few suggestions which your future observation will probably confirm,—and which in the mean time, if there should be in the bosoms of any a lurking discontent with the pursuits to which their present energies are devoted, may possibly contribute something towards removing it.

The principle, then, which above all others challenges observation in our system, is, that one and the same course of instruction is adopted in the treatment of those whose lots are to be cast in very different spheres of life. The future statesman, the soldier, the man of letters, the lawyer, the physician, the parish priest, all meet together here to be subjected for a stated time to a discipline which in its main features is unquestionably the same, although certain opportunities may still be afforded for the exercise of those peculiar talents which in subsequent years are to be called into more especial action. Now this universality in the application of their discipline is the point which, whether for good

or for evil, distinguishes the academical bodies of this country from those of any other. It is a theme which those who set themselves in array against us have almost always selected as the ground of attack. It is urged, that at the end of three years taken out of the most precious part of life, a young man educated at one of our Universities is left, for all practical purposes, at the point from which he set out;—that at the age of one or two-and-twenty, he has to begin the study of that profession to which he must look for his support, or at any rate for his advancement in life;—that he finds himself entering upon the race at a starting point much in the rear of those who are his juniors, and who have not participated in what he has been accustomed to hear called “the advantages” of an Academical course. Sometimes arguments of this sort have been assisted by others deduced from certain notions associated with the title by which the two great educational corporations of England happen to be denominated. The name of University, it is urged, points of itself to the duties of that body which bears it:—it is an evidence that their proper business is to dispense instruction to the Nation in all branches of Human Knowledge:—it exhibits them as a kind of depôt, from whence those who wish for systematic institution upon any subject—whether speculative or practical—may draw it at their pleasure,—where the lawyer and the physician—and indeed the student in any actual or conceivable profession, if only based on scientific principles—may be qualified each for his peculiar calling. Now in noticing these views, it is not my wish to

examine how far the statements on which they rest accord with facts,—although it appears by no means obvious that an analysis of the several departments of academical education would not exhibit the matured student in a very different light from that in which the above description placed him; and perhaps it might be shown, if time permitted, that on entering life after an academical career, a young man possesses not merely faculties strengthened and sharpened by the processes to which he has here submitted them,—not merely refinement of taste, rapidity and correctness of judgment, facility of abstracting, comparing, generalizing;—but, more than this, that he has gained actual results, which although not themselves professional, are most essential to the acquirement of professional knowledge. But the justification of our conduct does not rest upon such grounds as these. On the contrary I would, for my part, instead of endeavouring to dilute the charge, by pointing out circumstances which partially contradict it, at once cheerfully acknowledge that if such a statement embodies the true idea of Public Education, we are very far indeed from coming up to its standard. But I would, withal, most strenuously deny that a *professional* education, of any kind whatever, is the legitimate object of these institutions;—and I would maintain, that any attempts to satisfy a popular cry grounded upon such a principle is a dereliction of the high duties which are imposed upon those who conduct them;—that it is only by excluding all studies proper to one peculiar class, whatever that class may be, or at any rate by most strictly subordinating

them to those others whose primary object is the development of the human faculties, that we can preserve our rank of National Instructors, Educators of the Christian Man, Depositories of the civilization of the Age, and Transmitters of it from one generation to another. While certain pursuits are attended with large pecuniary profits to those who follow them, there will always be found numbers to engage in them readily and strenuously, and numbers more to exalt a skilfulness in them to a high rank in the scale of Human Knowledge. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that there should be manifested a disposition to devote the whole powers of youth to them; that their importance should be unduly exaggerated; contempt as unjust heaped upon others whose advantages are not so obvious; and intolerance exhibited towards those Institutions whose regulations imply a dissent from the popular opinion. But it is precisely in cases of this description that bodies like the one to which we belong, are called upon to justify their own existence by a practical protest against the vulgar delusion. For we are not placed here, out of reach of the disturbances and cares which cling around a life in the world, that we may be swayed to and fro by its dogmas upon subjects which require for their decision sober enquiry, deep thought, unbiassed judgment, long experience;—on the contrary, it is in such matters as this that we are especially bound to stand manfully up as champions of unpopular Truth—to plant ourselves as bulwarks against the stream which owes its force and direction to the merely tangible interests of men,—to bate no

jot of our claim to be here the legitimate controllers and regulators of their inclinations,—and to denounce, loudly and fearlessly, that tyrannical domination of gross and immediate Usefulness in the estimate of human advantages, which is the source of the present demand for professional instruction in such places as this.

It is not my intention in this place to insist upon the paramount importance of general as compared with professional education. The point will probably be conceded at once by all who hear me. If a general education can give that vigour and tone to the mind, which it professes to do,—if it can strengthen the understanding, enlarge the apprehension, and purify the taste, as, when properly conducted, I would be bold to affirm it will,—not many persons will be disposed to give up advantages such as these, for any degree of attainment in particular branches of knowledge or of art. But still the question may be asked, Is the sacrifice of time which is demanded for these purposes absolutely necessary? May not the two sorts of education, the general and the professional, be carried on side by side, at the same time, and in the same place? This is a question by no means new: it occurred to Milton—it has occurred to most persons who have thought on the subject, and felt deeply the value of time, especially in the early part of life. It is a question to which facts, and facts alone, can supply an authoritative answer, and that answer has hitherto been a negative. Up to the present time it has *not* been found that these two different objects can be attained by a single process. Perhaps

reasons might be given which would tend to discourage the hope that much greater success will ever attend future attempts of the same kind. Not only are the motives to the acquirement of professional skill more gross and tangible,—more addressed to our obvious interests than those which stimulate to that mental culture which is carried on without reference to any particular end;—but the results also in the case of each individual are much more easily recognized. Hence they are far more satisfactory not merely to the world at large, but also to the learner, whose perpetual wish is for some evidence of his own advance, appreciable by himself. Now evidence of this sort he has, if his labours have been bestowed upon the acquisition of *knowledge*, but if on the acquisition of *intellectual power*,—and this, be it remembered, is, among all the results of mental culture, the one most striking and obvious,—the improvement requires a much more delicate balance to estimate it, than he himself at that time possesses. It is not until after a considerable interval has elapsed, when he can look back and compare the clearness and precision of his views, the facility and accuracy of his mental operations, with the crudeness and vagueness which possessed them in his earlier state, that he becomes aware of the change which has been wrought in him. When we consider the magnitude of these two springs of false judgment, immediate interest, and the tendency I have just described,—and also the universality of their operation in a greater or less degree, we shall be prepared for the phenomenon of the professional education invariably swallowing up the general

one, whenever an attempt is made to combine them, at least when in anything like equal proportions.

But before we sigh over the years, whose consumption in essentially formal studies would seem to be unavoidable, if the human faculties are to be developed in the highest degree, let us see whether we are on the whole losers to such an amount as at first appears the case. If it be found that such an additional vigour and activity has accrued to the mind from its years of preparation, that in a very short time the academical student recovers the distance which his rivals had gained during that period in which his own general education was being carried on,—we shall then, even from this point of view, see no cause to lament that the professional career did not commence earlier than it did. And I think if we look around in the world, we shall discover nothing to contradict the opinion that such is the fact. I apprehend that we shall find those who most heartily devoted their energies, while among us, to the studies of the place, by no means in the number of the least distinguished in any walk of active life. But are there not also advantages resulting from the generality of our system, which are of a higher order than these? Do we not also trace them in the liberal spirit which pervades what are termed the learned professions in this country?—in the mutual appreciation of each other?—in the respect which talents, although exercised in a very different vocation, produce in the minds of English jurists, physicians, clergymen?—in the absence of that pedantry which exaggerates the importance of its own

employment, and vents its ignorant contempt upon that of others? If these qualities be the result of those general studies which at one time formed the occupation of all those whose paths have since separated, we have something far more valuable to the well-being of a nation than the highest merely professional acquirements.

Indeed, it may be questioned whether even yet we have noticed the greatest advantages. Hither are accustomed to flock together to one common center, individuals from the most different classes of society. Here the sons of the peer and of the peasant are subjected to the same training, and the distinctions which we offer are open on the same terms to the one and to the other.' Is it conceivable then that those who have for three years been subordinated to the same discipline,—whose minds have passed through the same stages of development,—who have been competitors in a liberal and generous contest for the same distinctions;—should not retain, amid all the different fortunes which await them in after-life, ten thousand associations, which, sensibly or insensibly, act as a common bond to keep together the framework of society,—and which are all traceable to this source? May we not then attribute to the generality of our system no small share in producing that interpenetration of ranks,—that community of tastes and feelings,—that absence of anything like *caste*, which is so striking a feature in our own country? Where shall we find another nation in which the different classes exert so much genuine influence upon each other?—where else does the statesman listen with such

respect to the man of letters, and the soldier hail a brother in the man of science?—where else is there so deep a sense of

* “the thousand links that bind
The highest to the lowest of our kind”?

Nay further, where else is the best knowledge so really diffused, where else is any thought bearing upon the great interests of life so rapidly propagated through every part of the mighty chain?—And hence it is, that this country has, in the different stages of its history, passed through changes which would have shaken any other nation to its center, and rendered hopeless the recombination of its jarring elements. Throughout all *our* trials we have never as yet, God be praised, shaken off the true national feeling of intercommunity: we have always remained † “a city that is compact together;”—and while this is the case, we may reasonably hope that, with God’s blessing, “peace will be within our walls, and prosperity within our palaces.”

Those who are deeply sensible of the important results which have followed from this general form of our academical studies,—who are thoroughly convinced of the advantages which even professional knowledge derives from it;—will, while they labour to render those studies as comprehensive and efficient as possible, exercise a jealous watchfulness against the introduction of any foreign element into them. They will joyfully graft upon the ancient stem any additional branch of learning, provided it bears the characteristic mark which

* Trench.

† Psalm cxxii.

they look for,—of being essential to the *highest* development of the mental powers, moral as well as intellectual, of the Christian Man. But if it will not satisfy this test;—if it cannot be adopted without excluding some other more useful element of our system;—or if it professes to be adapted to one particular class, no matter how numerous or how important that class may be;—they will never consent to its introduction as a part of the University course, and will view with no friendly eyes any attempt to place it in a co-ordinate rank. And from whatever quarter such attempts may proceed,—even should it be from those who acknowledge our general principles, and profess themselves most friendly to our institutions,—I trust that we shall never be induced to relax our vigilance, or admit of any compromise prejudicial to our high vocation of National Instructors.

Indeed, the higher and more holy the duties of any profession are, which may claim for itself an exemption from our rule, the more essential is it, by every means in our power, to secure the very highest preparatory discipline for those who are to enter it. If that balance of mind, that healthy and symmetrical growth of all the mental faculties, which we conceive to be attainable only through the medium of a general, essentially formal education, be desirable for the exercise of any liberal profession, must it not be so for that one which requires a higher and more healthy development of the whole man than any other whatever—the Ministry of Religion. Is it in this, and in this alone, that distortion and one-sidedness will be innocuous?—that no one faculty will

be likely to gain an undue predominance?—that the Imagination and the Understanding, without any previous discipline, will maintain a perfect equipoise? Or is it believed that in this case, although in no other, the *professional* education,—*the education proper for the Christian Clergyman as distinguished from the Christian Layman*,—contains in itself those mental antiseptics which we find in our academical course? Look round for an answer upon those who act upon this principle;—look through the different phases of English Dissent, and you will scarcely find among them a single form of error, which cannot be traced to mental *habits* such as the discipline of this place is especially calculated to meet. I can well understand the feelings of those who deplore the comparative deficiency of the English Clergy in professional attainments at that time when they usually commence the exercise of their duties; but I should be sorry to see this defect remedied by proceedings which would at once sink the whole class into an inferior position,—by inducing them to devote those years to the peculiar study of their calling, which in other cases are appropriated to an organic development of the faculties. Any deficiency in mere acquirements, if the mental powers have been properly disciplined, may soon be remedied,—and that in any period of life: moreover the evil may be easily remedied in several other obvious ways, without any violence upon the academical course. But how different is the case where the defect lies in the condition of the mental powers themselves? If these have not attained to strength and suppleness in the gymnasium, will they do

it amid the fatigues and privations of actual warfare:— And how may we dare so to strike at the *catholicity* of our Church as we do, if we propose to qualify its ministers for influencing only the poor and low and uneducated,—and leave the spiritual wants of the more cultivated classes uprovided for? And this will assuredly be the case if the high mental discipline to which they owe so much shall not be shared in by those who are to be their pastors. Respect no doubt these will always receive, in virtue of the commission which they bear;—but such respect is not of the kind which, if this nation is to remain a religious nation, it must be. It is not the respect which is the parent of influence, however it may be homage. That other respect, while the laws of human nature remain unchanged, we must not expect any body of men, under any circumstances, to retain for a length of time from others who are decidedly and obviously their superiors in mental cultivation. That other kind of respect it is which we trust the Clergy will continue to gain in a daily increasing degree from the whole nation, not merely for their earnestness and zeal, nor only for the sake of that Gospel which they preach;—but for their vigour and soundness of intellect, their knowledge of human nature, their ability to discover those diseases of the human heart which are the springs of so much religious error, and to apply the proper means for their eradication. To this end *we* will not be wanting in *our* duty; we will send them forth to their warfare furnished with all the weapons which our armoury affords. Owning in all humility that after all that we can do, the blessing cometh from above,—

conscious, that “*unless the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it,” we will be yet unwilling to tempt the Lord our God by expecting that a continual miracle will be exerted in favour of us, while we neglect the ordinary means which he has given us to work with. And, in the spirit of our pious forefathers, who freely lavished their wealth, and summoned all the resources of their art in rearing right mighty fanes which at this day astonish us by their costly grandeur,—who did not sordidly calculate, Judas-like, how much was expended in unnecessary magnificence, but thought it foul shame if the House of God should be less glorious than the palaces of men;—so too will we, with God’s blessing, hold no time or labour wasted that may be expended in the adornment of those living temples who are afterwards to expound and justify His ways to Man.

* Ps. cxxvii.

ERRATA.

Page 19, line 14, *for* be homage *read* be of homage.

..... 20, 8, right those.

William Donne Esq^r

with the Authors kind regards.

THOUGHTS
ON THE
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION:

PARTICULARLY IN REFERENCE TO
THEIR PROBABLE INFLUENCE ON THE
STATE OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

IN A LETTER TO
WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, Esq. M.P.

BY THE REV.
JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, M.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

The way of ancient ordinance, though it winds,
Is yet no devious way. Straight forward goes
The lightning's path, and straight the fearful path
O' the cannon-ball. Direct it flies and rapid,
Shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches.
My son! the road the human being travels,
That, on which BLESSING comes and goes, doth follow
The river's course, the valley's playful windings,
Curves round the corn-field and the hill of vines,
Honouring the holy bounds of property,
And thus secure, though late, leads to its end.

SCHILLER'S WALLENSTEIN.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL;
SOLD BY DEIGHTONS, CAMBRIDGE; & PARKER, OXFORD.

1837.

L O N D O N :
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

THOUGHTS,

§c.

MY DEAR SIR,

I DO not know any one with whom I should feel greater pleasure in privately discussing the measures proposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners than with yourself. I know none by whom any opinions of mine would be reviewed with greater candour, approved with greater cordiality,—or opposed with greater toleration. I know of none who feel livelier anxieties for the welfare of all the integral parts of our Establishment, or who are less likely to have the comprehensiveness of their judgment impaired by the temporary prominence of particular evils. Moreover, I believe there are very few with whom I should have so little trouble in agreeing on the principles on which the argument was to be carried on. I should not be interrupted by you, to be told that our National Church was nothing

more than an exponent of the religious opinions of a certain number of people ;—or that the reason of its existence was to eke out the force of the laws in repressing crime in the naked and starving, by threatening them with punishment in the life to come as well as in this;—or that its object was to supply food for the spiritual cravings of the people, without regard to what these might happen to be;—or whatever else any of the popular theories of the day may assign as the proper end of a Church. I shall, therefore, make no apology for prefixing your name to remarks which are to be given to the public, or for adopting the same line of argument to it that I should think adapted for you.

The Commissioners have been in more quarters than one, and by the representatives of more than one set of opinions, much blamed for the unconstitutional powers which they propose to call into existence, and for the unnecessary violence of the change which they recommend in the distribution of the Church property. And, although I am well aware how much easier it is to find fault with any measure than to substitute a better one, and although I am willing to make every allowance for the difficulties which all have to encounter who would construct at once a large and comprehensive system,—most extensive in its ramifications,—most complex in its operations,—

involving the most diverse interests,—I cannot help thinking that they deserve most of the censure which has fallen upon their heads, as far as that censure is directed against their judgments. For when a change so violent as taking £130,000 a year out of the pockets of one class of men and putting it into those of another;—when centralization of authority to the extent of placing the spiritual jurisdiction over all our immense metropolis and its suburbs in the hands of one man;—when arbitrary power to force the patrons of certain benefices, *if not laymen*, to distribute the aggregate proceeds of such benefices in the way the Commissioners and the Bishop of the diocese may agree upon as expedient;—when the transfer of a large portion of patronage from the hands of one order in the Church to those of another;—when all these propositions, (to mention no others of a similar nature,) foreign to all English habits of feeling, and some of them apparently in violation of the principles of common justice, appear as constituent parts of a plan of Church reform,—every one who feels the blessing which the Establishment is to the country, and the much greater extent to which its benefits might perhaps be made available, will naturally ask, What are we to get in return for this enormous price? It may be that such sacrifices as those proposed are necessary; but we

have a right to be assured of this. You are bound to satisfy us that you have given the deepest consideration to the case ;—that you have consulted all parties from whom it was probable that information might be gained ;—that you have taken the largest and highest views of the duties of the Church and the wants of the nation ;—that in this you have looked not only to time present but to time future ;—that no interest, whether strong or weak, has escaped at least your respectful notice ;—that you have weighed all the evils to be got rid of, all the benefits to be gained ; and that having done all this, and dispassionately and accurately calculated the consequences, you feel yourselves justified in coming forward and saying, Yes ; we know that we are pulling down and setting up in a way which must strike every one at first sight as rather arbitrary ;—we know that we are abolishing prescriptive rights of immemorial duration ;—we know that we are establishing an inquisitorial tribunal of the most vexatious kind ¹ ;—that we

¹ This power of the Ecclesiastical Commission, summarily to call for *any* document or *any* person, which may in *any way* relate to *any* matter within their cognizance ; to summon that person under *any* circumstances, and ask him *any* questions they please, upon oath, does really appear to deserve the name of *monstrous*. I do not believe that a parallel to it is to be found in the history of any people calling themselves free, ex-

are placing an authority almost despotic in hands which have sometimes been known to wield the lash with harshness ;—but although all this is the case, we find the balance of benefit on the whole so very large that we adhere to our recommendations. If the Commissioners can show this, well and good. We may lament that the necessity for such an alternative should exist ; but if the destinies of the Church depend upon it, let the knot be cut. But if they cannot do this, then I conceive it is the duty of every one who feels strongly the importance of the question, to raise his voice, a weak and insignificant one though it be, against proceedings apparently mischievous themselves, certainly most mischievous as a precedent for future changes. It will be my endeavour, therefore, in the following remarks to make it clear that the Commissioners have neglected considerations which, in a scheme of such magnitude, and to be effected by such arbitrary means, ought to have been most carefully weighed.

What are the objects which form the justification of all their recommendations ? They appear to be two, and only two, in number : 1st, the increase of the power of the Diocesan over the

cept in the case of the Roman dictatorship ; *and that appointment was only on an emergency, and for a definite time.*

discipline of the parochial Clergy; and, 2ndly, the improvement of the smaller livings, with a view of securing to every parish the advantage of a resident clergyman. Both these ends are, as every one must admit, most laudable: but gold may be bought too dear, and those excellent objects may be obtained at rather too high a price, if for the sake of the one, we sanction a power which is utterly at variance with all the principles of liberty, and for the sake of the other, annihilate elements in the Church Establishment, which are as essential to its efficiency, as any others, although in the year 1837, their operation does not happen to obtrude itself upon the notice of every one who is able to read a newspaper. If a Bishop is to have the power of summarily fining a clergyman, of forcing him to employ curates, (often perhaps unnecessarily, at any rate, without any satisfactory proof of the necessity,) the salaries of whom may bring him to the verge of ruin,—of settling, in conjunction with a London board, what proportion of the income of a benefice is to go to the maintenance of the mother church, and what to outlying chapelries; we should naturally think that men who know what human nature is, would be anxious to secure the benefit which could be made to accrue from the advice and assistance of such bodies as Cathedral Chapters might be

expected to be. The *judicious*—alas! for the empty name!—the *judicious* Hooker¹, describes these, with the rest of the prebendaries, as “the very true successors of those ancient presbyters, which were at the first *as counsellors unto bishops*.” The Commissioners denude them of the influence they at present possess, and hold them up to the world in a most invidious light, as the spots in the sun,—the great obstacles to a pure and efficient administration of the church patronage,—the fetters which clog and cripple the limbs of the zealous and discreet Diocesan. I do not concern myself with the question whether Chapters or Bishops have exercised their trust in the worthier manner. It is a disgraceful thing that such a question should have arisen. If any have been influenced by ties of blood, or any more unworthy considerations to bestow preferment on improper objects, they have violated a most sacred trust, whether they be Bishops or Chapters, or private patrons. But I do not believe that any one of these classes can be selected either as an instance of immaculate purity, or of incorrigible corruption; and I am very sure that an attempt of any of them to establish a comparative excellence in their own case, must involve discussions over which all good men will mourn, and infidels will triumph. Surely it

* Ecclesiastical Polity, Book vii. Chap. 24.

would have betrayed much more of the gentleness of the dove, and not much less, I am inclined to think, of the wisdom of the serpent¹,—supposing a feeling had existed in the minds of the Commissioners against the mode in which Deans and Chapters are in the habit of exercising their trust,—to have aroused them to a sense of their duty by calling upon them to assist the Bishop in a part of his jurisdiction which would bring them into contact with the inferior clergy, and thus force the legitimate objects of their patronage upon their notice. And what opportunity for such a step could be imagined more favourable, than when it is proposed very materially to increase the power of the Diocesan? By such a proposition there would have been manifested a graceful humility and self-distrust in the Bishop,—a generous (may I not say, a Christian) confidence in the integrity and discretion of other Church dignitaries, which the mere spirit of honour would impel them to deserve,—a regard for the liberties and the feelings of the inferior clergy,—and a respect

¹ A writer, among whose errors an excessive faith in human virtue, is certainly not to be reckoned, says, “When we take people merely as they are, we make them worse : when we treat them as if they were what they should be, we improve them as far as they can be improved.”—*Goethe's Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.

for the principles of our Church polity. As the case is, a Christian Church is to be re-constructed, upon principles borrowed pretty equally from utilitarians and absolutists, from Archbishop Laud and Jeremy Bentham. On the one hand governors can never do wrong, if only they be Bishops;—on the other, no body of men, of whatever birth, education, character, or rank, are to be trusted, if they go by the name of Deans or Canons. The Church polity is to be outraged, the Chapters insulted, the Clergy exhibited in the light of slaves, and the Bishops in that of slave-drivers.

If by the new arrangements the patrons of benefices were placed in a situation which would subject them much more directly to the influence of public opinion than is at present the case, we might conceive a reason for trusting one class of men, rather than another. If, for instance, a Bishop were the patron of *all* the livings in his diocese, it is conceivable that he would administer the trust with more impartiality, as well as discretion, than any one else, or than he himself might do in a case, where one-sixth only of the benefices were in his gift, and the remaining five-sixths in that of Chapters or lay patrons. This it would not be unreasonable to expect, because in such a case it would be notorious, who it was that put the incumbent into the liv-

ing. All the world would know that it was the very functionary, whose especial business it was to watch over his proceedings in it. But under any new arrangement that is proposed, or likely ever to be proposed, how will it appear more on the face of things, than it does at present, whether a living be in the presentation of the Bishop, or in that of the Chapter of A., or Lord B., or Mr. C., and singularly unfortunate must the Bishop be in the distribution of his patronage, if his appointment is so bad as to stand out eminently among those, from whom the Commissioners seem to tell us, that no good should be expected. Of course I do not contemplate for an instant the possibility of such an arrangement, as I have imagined. But it certainly does seem, that only under such circumstances, have we a right to assume that one body of men, will enjoy that exemption from all the littlenesses of human nature, which they deny to others of equal birth, education, and position in society.

Have the Commissioners exhibited a higher appreciation of the value of the different elements which contribute to the welfare of the Church, than they have done of the integrity and discernment of Deans and Chapters? Let us see. The sum of 130,000*l.* per annum, they propose to take from a class which, *in theory at any rate*, is supposed to embrace the learning and talents,

other than ministerial, of the clerical profession. Of course they have examined deeply into the matter, and find that there is too great encouragement in the Church for such persons. We are dying of a plethora of scholarship. Nothing but Greek is preached from our pulpits. Antiquarian researches, or metaphysical subtilties, take up too much of our time. The presses teem with reprints of Fathers and Synods. The parochial clergy are drawn from the cottager's bedside, by their attachment to Origen and Justin Martyr. But to be serious, for indeed this is no matter for mirth, is it not something more than surprising that men of learning, such as some of the Commissioners notoriously are, who from their situation are supposed to take the most comprehensive view of all parts of the Establishment, should entirely leave the Universities out of their consideration? Indeed it can hardly be discovered from their recommendations, that they are aware of the existence of such bodies, much less of the fact, that out of them proceed the materials of which every part of the Ecclesiastical edifice is built, from foundation to coping-stone. Do they know that the salary of that Divinity Professor in the University of Cambridge, *from whom alone candidates for ordination are required to produce a certificate of attendance at lectures*, amounts to no more

annually than 105*l.*? Do they know that the Greek and the Hebrew professorships in the same University, are endowed each with the beggarly pittance of 40*l.* a year? It is scarcely conceivable that they should be aware of these facts, although some of them resided for a considerable period in college as Fellows, and one of them actually held one of these very Professorships, together with a college lectureship, (for it is only as secondary to something else that any one will consent to take it,) for several years. Yet, in spite of this personal experience, in spite of the loudness of the cries, yet ringing in our ears, which were raised by them, when a proposition was brought forward for the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, that the Universities were the nurseries of the Church! we find them proposing to confiscate an annual sum of 130,000*l.*, bestowed many centuries ago for purposes at least *analogous* to those for which these Professorships were endowed, and, without a hint to give us a hope of better times, appropriating the whole of it to purposes totally foreign to the thoughts of the donors. Surely, even if the popular cry against sinecures were to be the only guide which the defenders of the Church thought fit to follow, still a prebend at Ely, (with or without the duty of preaching, which all modern Church

reformers seem to think the proper sphere of every man of learning, however unfit his pursuits may be to qualify him for it,) might have been attached to each of these posts without excessive scandal; nor do I believe that the nation would have risen in indignation, if the Professorship of Casuistry had been elevated into a chair of Moral Philosophy, and endowed with a fourth.

When such obviously useful and just appropriations of cathedral preferment, (if any change is to be made,) are overlooked or disapproved by the Commissioners, one can hardly wonder that another body of men, more obscure, but still most important to the country, should have been also neglected by them, I mean the Fellows of Colleges resident at the University, whether for the purposes of study, or to carry on the ordinary business of education in the several colleges. And here let me remind the Commissioners,—I have no occasion to remind *you*,—what the importance of this is. To one or the other of the English Universities, there come up to reside, for the most critical period of life, viz. from the age of eighteen to two-and-twenty, more or less, the sons of almost every nobleman or gentleman of independent fortune, the principal part of those who are destined for the higher branches of the medical and legal professions, and, with a few

inconsiderable exceptions, *all* those who intend to enter the Church. Some people have endeavoured to persuade the world, that this is a very foolish thing. They tell them that the lads will get no good with us, but in all probability a great deal of harm; that they will be taught a parcel of stuff which will not bring a penny into their pockets, in any vocation of after-life; that they will spend a great deal of money during their residence at the University, and come away, in all probability, worse in every respect than they went. But, somehow or other, in spite of all that these good people can do, the world is foolish enough to continue committing their sons to our charge at this ticklish period. Every October there arrive scores of fathers, who have themselves been taught the parcel of stuff, and spent all the money, and taken all the harm, (arrived at a period of life too, at which men do not usually look back with much delight on such things,) bringing up their children, at the price often of much privation to themselves, to run the same dangerous, and useless, and costly course which they themselves have passed through; and on such occasions an observer may sometimes see a smile, token of no painful emotion, lighting up eyes which, after an interval of some twenty years, rest once again on the well-known gateway

and chapel, and fluttering blue gowns of the old *Domus*. Such sights, I say, are not very uncommon here, and I suppose neither are they at Oxford; and more than this, the phenomenon has been observed, and that too not merely once or twice, of the bitterest enemies of our institutions, of those whose invectives against us are only suspended to make room for their more lively sarcasms, introducing their sons to the walls which they had represented as containing nothing but ignorance, bigotry, and wickedness. Passing strange this, but nevertheless true. And how is it to be explained? How, but by the fact, that in spite of all that radical reviews and fanatical preachers may say,—in spite of all that our enemies, in and out of the legislature, may do, and our friends allow,—the nation, in its very heart's core, has an affection for the Universities, and a confidence in them. Sometimes a Whig, in the pique of the moment, will tell us that we are a bigotted set, and that he is ashamed to have anything to say to us, or a Bishop will mount the university pulpit and scold us for preferring Thucydides and Euclid as organs of general education, to Irenæus and Pearson, but when either Whigs or Bishops have occasion to act in a matter of all others the dearest to them,—the welfare of their own children,—they generally contrive to find out, that,

after all, they cannot do better than send them up to college. And yet this is no light or unimportant matter. The management of the flower of the English youth during such a part of their life,—through the transition state from the complete subjection of the schoolboy, to the no less complete independence of the man,—a time when the passions are most violent, the imagination most fervid,—when the understanding, rousing itself with first-felt giant force, bursts asunder the traditional bonds which have hitherto restrained it,—is not so trivial a task as to make it matter of indifference to parents to what sort of hands their sons are entrusted under such circumstances; nor can it be a matter of indifference to the nation, which in almost every imaginable relation will hereafter be acted upon by them, whether for good or for evil. Now in proportion as the interest of the country is most intimately involved in this matter,—in proportion as a most deep and awful responsibility lies upon us, to whom these important trusts are committed, to produce results of solid benefit, without caring to please the multitude that stand by and criticise our conduct, or indulging a miserable vanity by assiduously cultivating the high soils to the neglect of the less promising ones, and then challenging admiration for the *distinguished* men we produce;—so is it the bounden

duty of the rulers of the Church, if that Church professes (as you and I probably should maintain her to do,) to be the educator of the nation, to neglect no means in their power to secure a constant succession of the best intellect in the country to carry on the general education in these places. How would the country be satisfied if the following description were to be a correct one of the persons under whose superintendence their sons are to pass the fiery ordeal between childhood and manhood ?

“The lowest and least of these [to wit, the Fellows] is usually the tutor : with or without the assistance of a drudge, still more unworthy than himself, this poor hack endeavours, by a few wretched lectures, to conceal the total want of all sound and wholesome institution, and the monstrous misapplication of the wealth of the nation. He is often a man of low birth, whom laziness or physical infirmity rendered unfit for the flail or the loom ; and, having availed himself of some of the eleemosynary foundations, he has won his way to an office which ought to be accounted honourable, but by the accumulation of the grossest abuses has been rendered servile. If the aspiring clown had elevated himself by a generous excellence, by pre-eminence in liberal learning, his low birth, far from being a stain, would shed a lustre upon his new station ; but under the present unhappy constitution of our Universities, these mushrooms are culled for deleterious, not for wholesome properties. If his birth was low, his mind is commonly lower : he is not selected on account of his learning, but for his subserviency. When a teacher of gentle blood is taken, it may happen, perchance, (sic) that although

he was born a freeman, he has the soul of a slave. The fellowships, in like manner, are, for the most part, conferred upon kinsmen, upon tools, upon all but those who are best entitled to hold them ¹."

That this vulgar trash is false from beginning to end, at the present time, is all true enough ; but we ought to consider a little whether a state of things near enough to what is here described to allow a Westminster reviewer to draw such a picture, without the distinct consciousness that he was telling an untruth, may not be risked by tampering with the present distribution of Church preferment. The salary of a Bank clerk of ten years' standing, is as much as the funds at our disposal will enable us to give to the greater part of those who are engaged in the business of public tuition. Can we expect that a young man, who has distinguished himself highly in his university course,—who looks abroad in the world, and sees the career of honourable ambition which is open to him,—will be much tempted by such a prospect as this ? It is indeed very possible, that if he go out into active life, disappointment and sorrow may be his lot. He may find cause to regret that he ever quitted the quiet of collegiate walls for the noise and bustle of the great world. But these

¹ Westminster Review, vol. xv. p. 62.

are views which do not prevail very generally at four-and-twenty. Nor is there any reason that they should. His previous experience is his warrant that talents and industry are rewarded with success ; and why should the future differ from the past ? He gazes around him, and sees judges and statesmen, lawyers and physicians, acquiring wealth and rank ; he looks into the University Calendar, and finds scarcely a name there honourably distinguished, to which a note is not appended, containing the notice of some post of distinction or emolument, if only the owner have chosen to go out into active life ¹. What temptations have we to offer as a balance to such hopes as these ? A couple of hundreds a year as a college lecturer,—the possibility of succeeding to a full tutorship at eight-and-thirty,—the refusal of a living of £500 a year at fifty, or the option of remaining and being buried in the college chapel !

“ Look on this picture, and on this.”

¹ At the present moment, not to mention other distinguished members of the legal profession, there are no less than five of the English Judges, besides a late Attorney-General, who were formerly Fellows of one and the same college in this University. How very different, in all probability, would their fortunes have been, had they devoted themselves to the humble, but scarcely less important, duties of college tuition !

What is it, then, which prevents our educational staff from degenerating into that state which the reviewer (I trust not prophetically) describes? I will tell you what it is. It is partly the studious and reflective habits, the love of scientific and literary pursuits which has been engendered in the four, or five, or six years which sometimes elapse before a fellowship is won; it is partly also the high sense that the young man entertains of the important duties which are proposed to him; but, above all, it is —Hope. He imagines, not I conceive rashly, that he shall make the country his debtor for the services which he performs. He knows that there is a considerable quantity of that kind of preferment, the existence of which has generally been justified by the plea, that it was to provide for persons who should adopt a course of life similar to what he proposes. He is aware that he will have no positive claim to any of this. He is aware that the great people who dispense it, do very often bestow their favours upon relations, and friends, and political supporters, and the relations and friends of these; but he knows also that they do not *profess* to do so, and that some do so much less than others. He knows that public opinion is a considerable check to many, and a sense of duty perhaps to more; above all, he believes that those “to whom

every clergyman naturally looks for encouragement and reward" are *sensible* of his services, although they may have nothing but goodwill wherewith to reward them. Such thoughts as these can surely not be deemed extravagant. Even Lord Henley, whom no one can reckon a particularly strenuous advocate for the interests of the learned class in the Church, hostile as he is to the application of any part of the ecclesiastical funds to the encouragement of what he calls "mere human learning,"—even Lord Henley, in his pamphlet on the subject of Church Reform, (which, from the number of editions through which it past, may fairly be considered as an index of tolerably wide-spread opinions,) proposes to bestow a very large share of the whole sinecure or quasi-sinecure preferment which he would leave, "on persons who have been engaged for seven years¹ in the duties of public tuition in either of the Universities." Is it possible, then, that the Commissioners, when they proposed to sweep off at once preferment of this kind to the annual value of £130,000, never contemplated the possibility, that consi-

¹ Of the exact number of years he names I am not quite certain. I quote from memory; but the precise time proposed by him is unimportant for my argument.

derations like these might have some influence in procuring the supply of fit and proper teachers of the English youth ? This appears very strange, when we recollect that two of their body formerly filled such situations. Did no such thoughts at that time ever enter their minds ? or has the splendour of the episcopal office produced such an oblivion of their former state, that they have as little sympathy with it as the soaring butterfly with the perishing chrysalis ? or do they imagine that the prospects of a college life are so brilliant, that to add any extrinsic charm to them is idler than gilding refined gold ? This last seems, after all, to be the true view ; otherwise when they made especial provision for affixing a canonry of Durham to each of the professorships of Greek and divinity in *that University*, they would probably have suggested some expedient for raising the salaries of the Divinity, Græek, and Hebrew Professors in the University of Cambridge. Naturally college tutors could not expect much consideration from them, when University Professors were thus treated.

As for the present generation of persons whose not unreasonable hopes have been thus suddenly crushed, not much hardship will be endured by them. Many of them will readily find employment, less grateful to themselves, perhaps, but

of far greater pecuniary profit, out in the world, as some have already done ¹, and more are preparing to do. Some, whose age and habits of life forbid them to make any change of this sort, will remain,—a standing reproach to the country, and an evidence to it of what sort of men a constant succession might have been provided, had the Commissioners dealt more warily with “abuses.” But the whole of society will suffer a deep injury,—an injury which it will not discover perhaps for some time, but which, when discovered, it will be too late to remedy. The art of dealing with young men of the most different ranks and expectations, and destined for the most different departments of after-life—the skill to respect, while regulating, their feelings and opinions—to perceive to what limit restraint may be enforced, without crushing the generous spirit of the English gentleman, to what extent liberty may be allowed, without infusing a disposition to lawlessness—to encourage honourable ambition, while repressing every feeling of jealousy and envy—to preserve the respect due to the instructor amid the intercourse of friendship,—this is not a knowledge which every one may

¹ In the space of a single fortnight, a great public school had to thank the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the services of two most able scholars, at the expence of a great college in this University.

pick up in a day. The lazy or unprincipled may save themselves a great deal of trouble and anxiety in our situation. They may easily make iron rules, and summarily punish with severity all infringement of them; or they may content themselves with offering the benefit of lectures to such as may think it worth while to attend them, and for discipline they may hand over the youthful delinquents to the civil magistrate. I dare say, that in the first case they would avoid those occasional scandals, of which, rarely as they do occur, our enemies do not forget to make the most; and if they chose to adopt the latter, they would probably still, aided by their endowments, induce those whose only hope of advancement in life lies in their own exertions, to read for a fellowship. But they would never have the gratification of seeing what we see,—gentlemanly feeling supplying the place of positive law,—a growing interest on the part of the young men themselves in the welfare and the pursuits of the place,—the pecuniary emolument that follows distinction thrown into the shade by a sense of the honour,—and this, if I am not very much deceived, in many instances displaced by a yet higher motive¹. They would never see

¹ Everybody at all acquainted with the Universities is aware, that for the degree of B.A. there are two kinds of

(what is now an every-day occurrence) the very youths, who, during the time of their residence among us, felt the bonds of discipline most irksome, and thought them most useless,—after a few short years, when the ebullition of youth has subsided, come back to us with expressions of affection for our institutions, and of self-reproach at not having earlier apprèciated them. If the country is satisfied with the system that has produced this state of things, the Commissioners will not get many thanks for a recommendation which will certainly tend greatly to

examinations; the one of a much higher nature than the other. The number of those who offer themselves for the former of these, has for several years been steadily increasing. The Cambridge calendar gives, in the year 1816, 19 wranglers, 15 senior optimes, and 14 junior optimes: a total of 48 who were successful candidates for honours (as they are called). In the year 1836, there are 34 wranglers, 58 senior optimes, and 33 junior optimes; in the whole 125. The prospect of emolument cannot be the cause of this increase, for of these numbers very few can hope for fellowships. In 1836, of the whole number of “honours,” 35 were of Trinity College. But of these not more than five or six could expect to become Fellows, unless the number of annual vacancies should very much exceed the average. Nor is the whole effect attributable to the mere love of distinction; for although many men out of mere emulation will work hard to obtain a wrangler’s place, none would exert themselves merely for a junior or senior optime, except from a higher principle. In this last year (1837,) the number of “honours” exceeded that of the ordinary degrees: “the few” were more than “the many.”

disorganize it, even although a fund may by this means be raised for the augmentation of small livings.

But the absorption of all this so called sinecure preferment, is not the only part of the Commissioners' recommendations likely to cause deterioration in the quality of those functionaries of whom I have been speaking. There is, to all appearance, either a complete neglect, or an intentional disparagement of their claims to the *ordinary* preferment of the Church. In that part of the Fourth Report in which it is proposed, that upon the vacancy of any benefice in the patronage of a Chapter, in case the Dean and Chapter fail to fill up the vacancy agreeably to certain provisions, "the Bishop of the diocese in which the benefice is situate do, within the next three calendar months, collate thereto a spiritual person, who shall have actually served within such diocese, as curate or incumbent, for five years at the least," one might have expected that residence as a college Fellow, in a recognized office, might have been considered as an equivalent qualification to service as a curate. The Bishop who became patron of the benefices of which the Chapters were deprived, would not have been bound to present such persons, and would perhaps scarcely ever have done so; but the bare mention of them would have served as a

recognition that such beings did exist in the Church, and would not have been without its effect. Because good words cost nothing, it does not follow that they are worth nothing. You may say that the Bishop, in whose diocese the preferment lay, would not, of his own personal knowledge, be acquainted with the merits of such persons. Why not? He might be acquainted with them in various ways; to take an obvious case, in the capacity of his own examining chaplains. Three of the Fellows of this very college are examining chaplains to Bishops of other dioceses than Ely. Besides, as the Commissioners have thought a similar argument no objection to interference with the division of the funds of a benefice between the several district Churches without any reference to the Diocesan—a case where the need of local information is at least equally striking—we cannot suppose this motive to have weighed much with them. And I speak here not for or against such a proposition, but of the spirit which it would have indicated.

The Universities were not always treated with such marked neglect. There is a document given by Lewis in his History of the English Translations of the Bible, which I think is worth the transcription, for it exhibits very curiously the change which opinions undergo. At the

time when the present translation of the Bible was made, the King wrote to the then Bishop of London that, “whereas he had appointed certain learned men, to the number of four-and-fifty, for the translation of the Bible, and that in this number divers of them had either no ecclesiastical preferment at all, or else so very small, as was no wise suitable to their merits; he therefore required him to write in his name to the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the Bishops of the see of Canterbury, and signify to them that his Majesty did straitly charge every one of them, and the Bishops of the province of York, that all excuses set apart, when any Prebend or Parsonage, rated or valued in the King’s Book at £20 a year or upwards, should next upon any occasion happen to be void, *either of their own patronage, or the patronage of any person whatsoever*; they should make stay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying his Majesty of the avoydance of it, and of the name of the patron, if it be not of their own gift, that he might commend for the same, such of the learned men whom he had employed about making this new translation as he should think fit to be preferred. And that his Majesty had taken the same order for such Prebends and Benefices as should be void in his own gift.

Lastly, that what he wrote to them, the two Archbishops, of others, they should apply to themselves, and also not forget to move the Deans and Chapters of both provinces, as touching the other points to be imparted otherwise by them unto the said Deans¹."

Here we see a measure, more bold, but not more arbitrary, than that proposed by the Church Commissioners, adopted to remedy the defect which *then* was thought of paramount importance. Surely the injustice and the one-sightedness remain the same, whether the learned Clergy are made the idol, and the parochial Clergy the victim, or the relation be reversed. The violence of the monarch's measure, however, admits of a partial palliation, which we cannot allow to that of the Commission: its operation was only temporary.

I suppose it is not assumed that our seats of learning have so degenerated since the time of King James the First, that they are now unworthy of even a word of encouragement. Not very long ago, one of the Commissioners told us on a most public occasion, after a compliment to our orthodoxy, that "the attempts of human ingenuity to distort the Scriptures into a differ-

¹ Lewis's History, &c. page 80. Folio edition

ent meaning from ‘that faith which was once delivered to the saints,’ whether made in this or other countries, have of late years been successfully encountered by sons of this University, with learning, discrimination, and eloquence, worthy of the best days of English theology¹.” And it is generally the custom, whether with justice or not, I will not pretend to say, to consider that theological learning has reached a much higher standard at Oxford, than here; so that I can give no interpretation whatever, to the conduct of the Commissioners, than that they consider the welfare of the English Universities, as too unimportant an element to be taken into account by them. Every Bishop is to look to the interests of his parochial clergy: we are no man’s child.

*Δύσταντοι Μεγαρήες, ἀτιμοσάτη ἐνὶ μοίρᾳ*².

I trust you have not lost sight of what I proposed in this letter. My object was not to advocate this or that mode of proceeding, much less to claim for any class a share in the division

¹ Bishop Monk’s Commencement Sermon, preached at Cambridge, on occasion of the installation of the Marq. Camden, page 14.

² Theocr. xiv. 49.

of the spoil, but to show that the recommendations of the Commissioners bear marks of haste, and insufficient attention ; that they have neglected the consideration of most important interests, important, not with reference to the few individuals who will be affected, or imagine themselves so, by the proposed measures, but to the nation, on whom the blow will really fall, in the shape of a rapidly degenerating education for their children. And if I have made out this point, I think I shall be justified in drawing the inference, that no men, however wise and experienced, however venerated and beloved by those for whom they have to legislate, are entitled to claim for themselves that implicit confidence on the part of the Clergy, which would be implied by acquiescence in the arbitrary measures they propose. Anxious as I am to approve propositions sanctioned by the leading dignitaries of the Church, still when I read in the very head and front of them evidence of a most mischievous principle—the principle of distrust—which, however it maybe thought by some desirable in the constitution of a Christian state, can scarcely be deemed so in that of a Christian Church ; when I discover as I proceed as unequivocal marks of haste, or neglect, or misjudgment ; and when I finally perceive these elements embodying themselves in a mea-

sure which shocks all my habits of feeling, I confess I can see no alternative to the belief, that the moving principle of the whole business, is only the popular cry for church-room and preachers ; —a demand very proper to be taken into account, along with other considerations, but not to form the sole basis of a measure affecting the destinies of our national Church for all future time.

Other elements there are which go to make up the total efficiency of the Establishment, of a much more delicate nature, almost, indeed, unfit for public discussion, but still most important in their operation. I allude to the effect which is produced by private patronage, and that by family interest, in the distribution of Church preferment. Judging from their neglect of the interests of education, which are so much more obvious and striking, can we suppose that the Commissioners have given much consideration to this part of the subject ? And yet these two influences are most powerful for good or for evil. Both, if not restrained by counteracting checks, some legal, more moral, would be productive of utter destruction ; with these both are productive of the greatest good. Without the former it seems not impossible that a feeling of *caste* might arise, somewhat analogous to that which in France, under the empire, produced the distinc-

tion between *militaires* and civilians; without the latter, the Catholic character of the Church would not be reflected in its ministry, a point inferior in importance to none whatever. At present the chance of high preferment is an inducement to men of rank to enter the profession, as the hope of moderate preferment is to men of talents, and the moral certainty of a decent maintenance and a certain position in society is to the son of the peasant. Thus the blessings of religion are brought into contact with every class of the nation: every one may find a minister who can understand his feelings and sympathize with them, and the universal truth is thus carried home to the hearts of all. And what, after all, do we propose by any change but this? This is the reason, and the only reason, that makes it desirable to have a resident minister in every parish: it is for the sake of the moral influence of which he is the centre, not surely for the sake of the money which he spends in the place from a benefice of £150 a year. But do not let us sacrifice the end to the means. Moral influence cannot be parcelled out according to parishes. If there were no other order in the Church than parochial Clergy and Bishops, and we could give the former of these £150 a year each, and put one in every square mile of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that

I believe the influence of the Church would be far less valuable than it was in the worst of times under the old constitution. Under that there have always existed channels, although at times perhaps partially choked up, by which every valuable talent has flowed into the Church, every rank of society been enabled to place its representatives in the ministry. We can as little dispense with the scholar, the metaphysician, and the antiquary, as with the preacher. Whatever a Church allowing of no appeal from its own authority need or need not do, every *Protestant* Church *must* be ready at all times to produce its title-deeds and its pedigree, and prove that it has a right to call itself "Catholic and Apostolic." I should be sorry to be a prophet of evil, but I suspect the time is not very distant when these will be pretty strictly scrutinized. May they then find advocates understanding the strength of their own cause! May every class of society, too, be as much interested in the result of the contest as is the case at present! May the different orders in the Church be as closely united, as much interwoven one into the other as now, and may neither fanaticism nor indifference have prepared the ground for the seeds of heresy! Above all, may we not be compelled, when looking back, to accuse ourselves and our own reckless impatience, of extinguishing the

energies which it was our duty to develope,—of
lopping off the limbs that we ought to have
healed !

I remain, my dear Sir,
Your faithful friend and servant,

J. W. BLAKESLEY.

Trin. Col. Feb. 25th, 1837.

By the same Author.

THE
STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITIES ESSENTIALLY
GENERAL IN THEIR NATURE.

THE
COMMEMORATION SERMON,
PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
On Thursday, December 15, 1836.

W. Donnell Esq.^r
with the Author's kind regards.



SEMINARIES OF SOUND LEARNING

AND

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

THE

COMMEMORATION SERMON

PREACHED IN

TRINITY COLLEGE CHAPEL,

ON MONDAY, DEC. 16, 1839.

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF THE COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED AT THE PITT PRESS,

BY JOHN W. PARKER, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY.

FOR J. & J. J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE,

AND

JOHN W. PARKER, LONDON.

M.DCCCXXXIX.

TO
THE MASTER,
FELLOWS, AND STUDENTS,
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE,
THIS DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED BEFORE THEM,
IS INSCRIBED,
WITH FEELINGS OF THE DEEPEST RESPECT
AND MOST AFFECTIONATE INTEREST,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

S E R M O N,

&c.

I THESSALONIANS V. 21.

Prove all things: hold fast that which is good.

IT is manifest to all of us who are here met together after our annual custom, that the Festival we are about to celebrate is of a peculiar nature, differing very materially from the ordinary occasions on which the mercies of God may be acknowledged with the voice of thanksgiving, and their continuance and extension implored. For this purpose indeed we are come here; but we are come as connected with one another by a peculiar bond. We are not assembled simply in the capacity of Christian men, brought together by the mere influence of local conditions into the same place of worship. *They* have one faith, one hope, and one calling, but not in the same special sense as *We*. We are met indeed as Christians, but also as something more. And on the other hand we cannot claim for our assembly the intimate bond which unites the members of the same Family in common prayer about a common hearth. But although our religious service may be deficient in the touching character of family devotion, and the catholic comprehensiveness of public worship, it is

founded upon a bond of union no less real, no less implying peculiar privileges, no less involving peculiar duties, than that which forms the basis of these. It is therefore that our Society has been formally dedicated to the Author and Giver of all good; it is therefore that equally with the Family and the Church it demands that its sacred character should be recognized,—that its principles should be understood and accepted,—that they should be traced in their operation both upon ourselves and others,—and that, if there be any distinct class of duties which manifestly flow from them, the judgment should be informed, and the conscience assisted towards their complete performance. The elucidation of these principles it is my intention to attempt in the present discourse, so far as the close limits prescribed by the occasion will allow; and I shall make no apology should the prosecution of this purpose lead me to a train of considerations which elsewhere might be improper, but which here seem neither irrelevant nor unimportant, if we would in this Commemoration of our Benefactors, as in all other cases, where we are summoned together in the Most High name, “sing praises with understanding.”

Now I do not know any form of words wherein the true principle on which this our Society is established can be more distinctly set forth, than that by which on all public occasions we are accustomed to describe it and others which are analogous to it in their constitution and operation, namely, as *a seminary of sound learning and religious education*. In this brief for-

mula are comprized, as I apprehend, the essential characteristics of this foundation. We have in it the distinct recognition of two separate objects, to the furtherance of which we consider ourselves as pledged, and to the co-ordinate importance of which (as respects us in our collective capacity) we bear a testimony by the fact of imploring the Divine blessing in the most public and solemn manner conjointly upon both. There is nothing in this, our acknowledged definition and description, which argues any antagonism between the two objects,—nothing which implies (so far as we are concerned) a subordination of the one to the other, or, under any circumstances, an extinction of either. And our practice is only a confirmation of our theory in this respect. Every day brings us our religious exercises, and every day brings us also our secular studies. Looking back through the three centuries which have been witnesses of our existence, we still find nothing but the strictest conformity with this principle. Sometimes the importance of the one half of it may have been more strongly felt or more complacently regarded,—sometimes the other may have forced itself into a temporary pre-eminence, but the balance has never been finally lost: we have never degenerated into the character either of a foreign university or a protestant monastery; we have neither abandoned the characteristics of a religious foundation, nor lost those of a learned one. We have never bowed the knee before qualities merely intellectual, or attainments of however great extent, in cases where the relations of Man to Man, and of Man to God, have

remained unrecognized; neither have we ever covered our eyes from the light of knowledge in the fear of what it might reveal to us. We have ever accepted the results of scientific investigation and of critical research with confidence and joy; we have never dared to tamper with Truth in whatever guise she has appeared; we have never given vent to the dread that the interests of Religion might possibly suffer from the increase of information, or that the mental powers could be impaired by the possession of religious faith. The haunts of Newton and Porson have never been profaned by that spirit of falsehood and fear which imprisoned Galileo, and strove to stifle the immortal thoughts of Vico and Niebuhr.

Now, if this intimate union of the two distinct objects I have named be characteristic of our constitution and our past practice, which seems undeniable, the question which at the present time would occur to very many persons is this, Are we prepared on grounds religious and philosophical to justify it? To this question a distinct answer must be returned before we can proceed a step farther with the conviction that our footing is sure; and upon the tenor of the answer will depend the conclusion of what practical course it is our duty to pursue for the future.

For it is notorious, that two opinions very different from one another, but each unequivocally opposed to what I have described as our animating principle, prevail extensively in the world upon this subject. Let us briefly examine what these are.

The first of them is the one which declares itself

in the bolder and more explicit manner of the two. Its advocates are usually, though not universally, persons more familiarized with the phenomena of the external than those of the internal World. They are often men who have laboured much, and not without success, in examining into the laws which govern the material Universe. Now the wonderful progress which the human intellect has achieved in this direction,—the simplicity of the principles which it has discovered,—the determinate and decisive character of the evidence on which they rest,—and the beautiful appearance of order with which they invest a multitude of varied and complicated phenomena,—all these are causes which contribute to raise such pursuits in the estimation of mankind, and would render them popular even without the additional recommendation they possess, of a direct and obvious bearing upon the physical welfare of the species. And not one jot or tittle would we wish to detract from the homage which has been paid to them: for if any mischief has arisen in the past time, or shall arise in the future, from their cultivation, affecting the highest interests of Man, this we hold as most certainly not due to the Sciences themselves, but (as we trust to shew in the sequel) from a mental distortion in those who have cultivated them, or who have accepted their results from others. But it is no detraction from their dignity to assert, that they are conversant exclusively with one sphere of the many things about which Man is concerned, with that one too in which, from its very nature, the distinctness of the Knowledge obtained is the greatest, and the faculties of the mind which are

brought into play the fewest. They are conversant, I say, solely with *the relations of matter*, and the only faculty to which they appeal is the Understanding. It is no detraction then to say that there is much in Heaven and Earth which is not dreamed of in this philosophy. Now let a man trained *exclusively* in such studies as these,—fully as they deserve the appellation of sound learning,—apply himself to those of another region, the sphere of Moral Duties. Let him turn to contemplate not lifeless matter, acted upon by its like, not attractions and repulsions, not chemical affinities and aversions, not cases in which, the facts being given, the result is ascertainable with unerring certainty,—but actions of living men, free agents, capable of choosing and refusing, cognizant of Good and Evil, influenced by ten thousand motives shadowed off one into the other by imperceptible gradations. What is the impression that will be made upon him by this apparent confusion? If we could conceive him so situated as happily no one since the world began ever has been,—if, I say, we could conceive a man of an intellect that had grasped the laws of the Material Universe, and yet without any developement whatever of the moral sentiments, it is obvious that the only judgement he could form of such a state of things would be, that it was a Chaos without form and without law. But under the unconscious influence which the social relations exercise upon all, this result can rarely or never occur. Still it may easily happen that the new enquirer shall adopt one of two other opinions equally erroneous. He may, in the first place, imagine

that the new phenomena to which his researches have conducted him, are the same in kind with those with which he is familiar, and may endeavour, by the aid of this clue, to find his way through the tangled labyrinth before him. In this case, he will endeavour to reduce the free domain of Human Action under the sway of the iron laws of Necessity. He will shut his eyes to the distinctive peculiarities of the new sphere. In his career of simplification he will confound moral motives with physical causes, moral approbation with physical pleasure, remorse with regret, virtue with prudence. The process of mental association will in his system differ little from that of physical attraction, except by being more vaguely apprehended. By such means he will with more or less success construct a Material Philosophy of Mind, an edifice complete in itself, shapely and circular, and satisfactory to the eye of the architect, but which the first breath of wind will be enough to blow to pieces. But if his perception be too discriminating to overlook the differences of the Laws which regulate the movements of Matter, and the operations of Mind, he will indeed escape the errors just mentioned, but it will not be unnatural if, in his surprize at the contrast between the ever-changing hues of Moral Phenomena and the colourless simplicity of Physical, he should doubt the possibility of acquiring in such a region any thing deserving the name of Knowledge, and should argue that a probable opinion is the nearest approach to certainty which under such circumstances can be hoped for. And if any such should venture into a

yet higher region, the sphere of the relations between Man and God,—Man not merely the intellectual, and the moral, but the spiritual Being,—Man, with all his efforts after an order of things higher than that in which he finds himself, with all his aspirations towards an existence happier, purer, more glorious, more permanent, than even his imagination can picture this life to be;—and yet with all his infirmities clinging about him and ever dragging him back to the earthly region, which in his better moments he despises and loathes;—how, I ask, can he, to whom no hand from on high has reached the clue of this mysterious web of contradictions, be otherwise than baffled and confounded should he attempt to unravel it by the same means that he has been accustomed to apply to difficulties different in kind? How can we be surprised if after many attempts and many failures, he should at last settle into the opinion that the only real part of Religion is *the mere sentiment*, and that it varies arbitrarily as regards its outward forms in different classes and different states of society? And, with this feeling, it is equally to be expected that in his mind a certain degree of respect for all forms of Religion should co-exist with a strong aversion for the doctrine, that in this region too, as in others, Truth is One, that here, as elsewhere, there is firm ground to stand upon, and that, although the Phenomena, the Laws of Evidence, the Faculties appealed to, are different from those which come into play in Physical and Metaphysical investigations, still here no less than in those a conviction may be formed based upon the most satisfactory reasons. To language

of this tenor he can hardly avoid turning a deaf ear; or even if he admit the abstract principle, the admission will but little influence his actions, while his habits of feeling are so discordant to it. In practice he will be tolerant of all Creeds, but he will not endure, except as a choice of evils, a preference of any one¹.

Such I conceive to be a tolerably true analysis of the type of that class of minds by whom in our formula, "sound Learning and Religious education," only the first half would be accepted as the legitimate object of institutions like our own. Their views have of late years been very widely spread and zealously embraced; but of the great influence which they have exercised by no means the least important part has been to evoke, in opposition to themselves, a set of others which bid fair in a short time to become even more popular, and widely influential. These, which to us appear equally erroneous by defect, and, by reason of their more specious appearance, at least equally prejudicial to the cause of Religion, we shall now proceed in their turn briefly to examine.

The persons who entertain them are usually such as turn at once with disgust or awe from the spectacle of a mental constitution such as we have attempted to sketch. They are troubled at the thought how little the attainments of such men act upon their conduct in the higher relations even with their fellow-creatures;—they shudder when they reflect how they influence the highest of all relations, that of Men with their Maker. The vision of a Godless World presents itself to their imagination,—the vision of a social state (if we may apply the

¹ See Appendix, Note A.

term to such a case) in which the moral duties shall be unacknowledged, the domestic charities extinguished, the intellectual powers employed in enhancing the low passions of our animal nature, and extending the scope of their operation,—an order of things, in short, in which the brutality of Savage life shall reign supreme, armed with the weapons which are furnished by the highest Civilisation, and Man have become only the craftiest, the foulest, the cruelest, and the most sensual of all the animals. Who shall harshly blame any, to whose minds the possibility of such a state of things has presented itself, if they have shrunk appalled from the horrible picture, and sought eagerly and anxiously to repose their gaze upon some object which should not possess a single feature of such frightful lineaments. Such an object, in this our favoured land, they had not long to seek. The personal experience of most will furnish them with one or more instances of individuals, who, fortunate in the possession of kind and pious parents, and born in the bosom of a Church, which has her lessons for every occasion between the cradle and the grave, have, by the mere discipline of ordinary Life with its pains and its pleasures, by the influence of the domestic affections, by the vicissitudes of good and ill fortune, and such other means as it pleases God commonly to use for the purpose of engraving the truths of Religion in the hearts of men, been raised to as high a degree of holiness, as affectionate a regard for their fellow-men, and as intimate a communion with their God, as during this our pilgrimage on earth it is permitted to any to attain;—while yet they have been devoid of every thing to which in common

parlance the name of Knowledge would be applied. Now who will deny that such men, however ignorant in all other respects they may be, have that which is far more valuable than all else, that they possess what is emphatically and pre-eminently *THE TRUTH*,—that which is not simply better than all secular knowledge, but belongs to an entirely different region, and has no standard in common with the other by which the two may be compared? They possess the “pearl of great price,” that for which a man should gladly give the whole world, and hold the purchase-money as nothing. And, if we understand by “religious education” such artificial means as conduce to put men into the possession of this treasure, who shall gainsay such as maintain that this is an essential part not only of the highest instruction, but of all instruction which deserves the name?

But are we prepared to follow them farther, and to accede to the additional proposition, that whatever is more than this is only valuable in so far as it contributes towards it; that what is called “secular Learning” is in itself worthless, if not even noxious, and becomes profitable only when employed in elucidating the evidences, in defending the doctrines, and in enforcing the precepts of Religion? Are we prepared to impose the limit upon enquiry which is involved in this principle,—to test every discovery upon its first appearance by a direct reference to its conformity with our religious views? Are we content, for instance, to do what the Church of Rome has done, to accept the system of Newton as an hypothesis only¹? Are we

¹ See the preface of the editors to the Jesuits' edition of the *Principia*.

disposed with certain dissenters to reject *à priori* the mental analysis of Butler, on the ground that the Fall of Man has rendered such an analysis impossible¹. Do we unwillingly hear talk of geological phenomena which appear inconsistent with the period which we imagine Scripture Chronology to assign to the earth? Do we feel any desire in this sense of the word to make Learning and Science the handmaids of Religion? If we do, how shall we defend our claim to be considered cultivators of "sound learning" and genuine votaries of Truth? if we do not, can we state the grounds on which we profess to yield to none in zeal for the interests of Religion? Can we maintain the one of our claims without abandoning the other?

I answer unhesitatingly that we can. I would assert that our very profession of Faith, the very "form of sound words" which we daily repeat, forbids us to discard *either of them*, by putting into our mouths the declaration that we believe God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be also the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things whether visible or invisible;—that to this profession we should be false were we for an instant to entertain the doubt that there could be any truth in the world which did not proceed from him;—and that to hesitate to use the light which he has given us in our Reason is in effect so to do. I would maintain that wherever men have been said to be led astray by this Light, their error has been falsely described. Led astray they indeed have often been, but by bad passions, by perverted judgments, by the influence of haste, or indolence, or rash-

¹ See Dr. Wardlaw's Christian Ethics.

ness, or timidity,—in a word, by vices either moral or intellectual affecting the individual, but not by the steady, pure, universal Light of Reason. If there be such a thing as Truth, then must the faculty by which Man recognizes it proceed from God, and possess all the sacredness which attaches to every thing that does so. And how dare men to reject arbitrarily *any* of the fruits borne by a tree which has its root in this soil? How can they without the extremest arrogance and presumption pretend to distinguish between them by means of any other test than one, namely, whether they be the genuine produce or only a spurious imitation of such? If they be the former, they possess the only recommendation they need,—the only one which a Christian man may lawfully require of them. Let all arise, and take and eat, nor any imagine that what is so given can be common and unclean.

We may from the point to which we have arrived plainly see that *our* Toleration—rather let me say, our frank and affectionate acceptance, of the contributions of Scientific and Antiquarian research, however secular their character, springs from a very different root from that principle which often bears its name, and which in many of its results is identical with it. That spurious Toleration is engendered of Indifference and Incredulity; ours is the offspring of the deepest Earnestness, and the most enduring Faith;—that, regarding all Truth as matter of opinion, is not troubled to reconcile discordant facts, and willingly shuts her eyes to their discrepancy; ours, confident in the reality of *all* Truth, joyfully accepts every

fragment which may be detected, and lays it up with care, even although she may not at once discover its proper place. She dares not to mutilate it, she dares not to reject it, and she never forgoes the trust that the true place will sooner or later be discovered, and the fragment be found, however unpromising it may at first have appeared, necessary to complete the integrity of the great Whole.

We will not pretend to deny that the faith of the scientific enquirer is subjected to trials from which that of the simple believer is exempted. The latter is exposed merely to what may be called personal trials; *his* enemies are only the world, the flesh, and the devil: the former has undertaken an additional task; he has sought to know the mysteries of God as displayed in the world without as well as in the world within,—to know the dispensations of Providence in the history of nations, to understand not only what part Christianity and Judaism, but what the whole of Heathendom has contributed towards the great work of the Divine Economy,—to that which, beginning with the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise, is only to end when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. In the books of Nature and of History, as in the book of Scripture, there are many things “hard to be understood, which they that are ignorant and unstable wrest unto their own destruction.” This may be a reason perhaps to make us shrink from recommending indiscriminately the study of either to those who do not enter upon it in a becoming spirit,—who imagine that their own unassisted powers are amply

sufficient for understanding all they meet with,—and who look with contempt on the aids to be derived from the labours of others who have long devoted their energies to the subject;—but for all who approach it with minds duly disciplined, and with the confidence that God's Spirit, ever dwelling in his Church, will not fail to lead them to truth, such difficulties can only be regarded as designed to be the highest trials of their Faith. For indeed that temper of mind which in its anxiety to avoid every thing that may disturb its equilibrium, wilfully shuts its eyes to external objects, is no more deserving to be dignified with this lofty name, than the timidity which seeks refuge from the temptations and trials of active life in the solitude of a cloister can claim the name of Virtue. In both cases the actuating principle (whether the individual influenced by it be conscious or not) is a dread far less of the enemy than of the contest,—an aversion to the pain and perplexity which arises out of a suspended certainty,—in a word, a spiritual cowardice. He who, rather than sustain the toil of the mental conflict fences himself round with prejudices against this or that branch of enquiry,—who pronounces his anathema upon one half of the powers that God has bestowed upon his creatures,—and persuades himself that it is his duty to flee from the doubts which may rise up before him, will inevitably every day be driven into a narrower and narrower circle. Like the hunted ostrich, his only anxiety will soon be to find some corner in which to hide his head and shut out the sight of the spectres which pursue him. This he will for a time

find in his Bible, but even there, if he be true to his own principles, his enemies will reach him. Every moment their features will, to his panic-stricken imagination, grow darker and darker,—every moment their numbers thicken. In the agony of terror, he will at last seize the opiate stretched out to him by the hand of a self-styled infallible church; he will drink it,—and sleep¹!

It was to testify both by word and deed, both by example and precept, against such errors as these, no less than against the Infidelity which bears its mark upon its brow,—to shield from the arrow that flieth by night, as well as from the pestilence that stalketh in the noon-day,—that our College was here placed, the first child of the Reformation. Thus have we remained for near three hundred years, a sleepless dragon guarding the fountain-springs of Knowledge and the ancient citadel of Faith; and with God's blessing we will not betray our trust. We know that our duty is no easy one; we are aware that, like a border-fortress, we are assailable from one side or the other: we are prepared to hear taunts on our bigotry from one party, and invectives on our latitudinarianism from another; but let none hope by these to drive us from the post which has been assigned us,—a post as honourable as mortal men can well have, that of reconciling the ancient spirit of Belief with the modern spirit of Enquiry. The thought that we are among the chiefest instruments for this may well enable us to smile at such attacks, come they from what quarter they may; and the last three centuries, with the fruit which they have borne in our Bacons,

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

our Newtons, our Barrows, and our Porsons, may haply be only a foretaste of the harvest which during the next three this "Seminary of sound Learning and Religious Education" shall supply, "to serve God both in Church and State."

While we contemplate our institutions from this point of view, in their bearing upon Ages past and Ages yet to come, the Present shrinks into comparative insignificance in our eyes. We gaze upon the mighty river fertilizing provinces as it rolls along,—we look upward to the mountains where it rose, and downward towards the ocean whither its ever-widening stream is tending, and we scarcely bestow a thought on the particular drops of water which roll by us. And right and proper it is that this should be. What are the individuals who at any given time constitute this our body, compared with the great *Idea* which they for their brief span set forth? It is to that, and not to any one generation that our reverence is due, not even to that one when fathers of the British Church and creators of British Science, who now repose beneath our feet, sat in these places, on this occasion, to acknowledge their duties and give thanks for their privileges. Yet may we be pardoned, if from time to time we take note of the changes which appear in the stream as it hurries by,—if for a moment we recal the recollection of those whom the past year has swept from our sight. For two of these the knell is yet ringing in our ears,—the one gathered to his home in the fulness of time, when that goal had been reached beyond which all that remains is but labour and sor-

row. Peace be to the memory of the patient sufferer, the accomplished scholar, the genial old man, whose heart was unchilled by the frost of age, and whose kindly and festive humour long days and nights of pain had failed to extinguish¹. Peace be to him also who was cut off before the seed here sown had time to ripen! Although less closely connected with our body, he had remained among us long enough to leave regrets in the breasts not only of his friends and associates, but also of those who from their peculiar opportunities of observing how the duties of a student were discharged by him, could best form a judgment that had his days been prolonged, he would have proved no unfaithful servant in doing the work of his Lord².

And now, that we may, according to annual custom, perpetuate the memory of our religious Founders, let us proceed, as in duty bound, to specify their several donations, &c.

¹ The Rev. Robert Hodgson Greenwood, Senior of the College, of whom it might most justly be said, *Nemo unquam urbanitate, nemo lepore, nemo suavitate conditior*, died in the 72d year of his age, of a lingering disease, which had during several years occasioned him much suffering.

² William Webb, Esq. Pensioner of the College, eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Webb, Master of Clare Hall, died in the last Term of his residence as an undergraduate, after a very few days illness.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. (p. 13.)

THE following extract from a work which has obtained considerable circulation, may serve to illustrate the views in the text. The author is, I believe, an Unitarian minister.

“In the Catholic communion there can be no difficulty [in “discovering a heretic.] To deny the authority of the “church is a definite and intelligible act; for the church “means the pope and the priests; and they are men, with “a will of their own, which can be collected and expressed; “they are living judges of the acts and ideas which do, or “do not, accord with that will. By the very meaning of “the terms it appears, that every man must be veritably “a heretic, whom those persons feel and pronounce to be “such.

“But with Protestants the case is different. Their heretic “is he who rejects the sense, not of the priests, but of the “scriptures; and the Bible cannot speak for itself, and tell “us who the offender is; it cannot go to him and say, Thou “art the man. I ask then again (and I put the question “to the orthodox Protestant), how are we to find out the “unhappy delinquent? Where is the sense of scripture “against which it is so terrible to rebel? There are *the* “*words*, but that is not what you mean; they are accepted “by the heretic, no less than by yourself, and are only the “material symbols of the meaning,—which must have its “seat in some mind. The sense of a book then must be, “either the ideas of the *writer*, or those of the *reader*,— “either those which suggested the words, or those which “the words suggest. To get at the former, when the author “is gone, is clearly impossible; (*sic!*) the thoughts of John,

“and Peter, and Paul, at the moments when they wrote
 “their works, are beyond our reach. (*sic!*) The sense of
 “scripture then denotes your sense; the notions which it
 “awakens in your mind. The denier of the word of God
 “is the reader to whom the Bible suggests ideas different
 “from yours. The oppugner of divine authority is the re-
 “cusant of your interpretation; the rejecter of infallible
 “certainty is the disputer of your constructions; the unbe-
 “liever in the essentials is the questioner of your favourite
 “conclusions.

.....
 “The real state of the case then may be comprised in a
 “few words. In the process of divine instruction there
 “are three distinct steps; 1st. There are certain ideas in
 “the mind of Christ; 2d. There are certain words used
 “to embody those ideas; 3rd. This form of speech is so
 “imperfect a vehicle of thought, that in six different per-
 “sons it excites six different senses.

.....
 “Every Protestant who produces a creed, as containing
 “ideas necessary to acceptance with God, thereby claims
 “infallibility. He may talk, to save appearances, of the
 “infallibility of the Bible; but he means, as we have seen,
 “his own. Every such creed is virtually a Papal manifesto;
 “nor does any thing protect us from a miserable subjection
 “to spiritual despotism, except the multitude of rival claim-
 “ants on inspired authority¹.”

It is curious that neither to this writer nor to the Romish controversialists who were opposed by Tillotson and Stillingfleet, and who adopted the same line of argument which he has, should it have once occurred, that their principle goes to prove that no one intelligent being possesses the means of conveying his sentiments to another: for of course, if words are to be the vehicle of communication, it can make no manner of difference whether they are addressed to the eye by the pen, or to the ear by the voice.

¹ *The Rationale of Religious Enquiry*, by James Martineau, pp. 79—88.

NOTE B. (p. 20.)

The craving after *certainly*, and the willingness to embrace *positiveness* in its stead, the former an essential part of our nature, the latter arising out of mental peculiarities or accidental circumstances affecting the individual, are in their combined action the source of almost all the conversions to the church of Rome, which have taken place of late years among the English of the educated classes. Let one who, since his departure from among us, has been assailed with much virulence and rudeness by persons whose zeal might well have been tempered by more gentleness and guided by a better knowledge of their own cause, speak for himself, and for hundreds more.

“Suppose I had been convinced,” says he, “that the Catholic Church had erred, and found myself again tossing on the sea of doubt and enquiry, which way would you direct me to find peace of mind, which can be found only in a settled belief? To which of the new religious societies and creeds must I go? and which form of doctrine may I preach, with confidence of neither being deceived nor deceiving others? If you do not bring me to this point of giving me a form of doctrine to follow and teach, of the truth of which I might have such assurance as the word and promise of God alone can give, you disappoint all my expectations. I conclude you would point to the Bible, as other Protestants have done of whom I have asked this question. But this is not enough. I should answer—the Bible I had when I was a Catholic, and I thought I possessed the true doctrines of it. I have believed you and left the Old Church, because you told me you would give me more peace and clearer knowledge of the sense of Scripture; but for this end, *you must show me how to interpret the Bible with more confidence than the Catholics have in their views, or at once I see I am a loser by my change, as far as peace and joy go.* I ask, then, which interpretation, that of the Church of England, that of the Methodists, the Baptists, the Unitarians, or of those who

“follow the late Mr Irving’s views, is that which gives
 “full and well-grounded assurance to the soul of the en-
 “quirer? You have solemnly professed your conviction that
 “the Church of England is true in all her doctrines, and
 “correct in all her discipline, and if you are consistent, you
 “must of course direct me to her. But give me a reason why
 “I should believe that the Church of England by law esta-
 “blished is more likely to be true in her belief than any of the
 “other sects named above, or of the unnamed and un-
 “numbered variety besides; *and it must be such a reason,*
 “*observe, as may preserve me from being carried about and*
 “*shaken every time that I meet with a man cleverer than*
 “*myself, who will be defending some other system, by argu-*
 “*ments which I have not ability at once to answer.* In
 “short, as there is no confidence to be placed in man, I
 “must have an assurance that those who founded her were
 “especially guided by the Holy Spirit, and that her rulers are
 “continually so assisted by the Lord, that, whatever new
 “modifications in her articles or discipline may take place,
 “I am secure from being led astray. *With this assurance*
 “*I may remain at peace, though I should hear arguments*
 “*sometimes from opponents which I cannot answer, and*
 “*though I should see all sorts of men who seem as wise and*
 “*good as myself, or far beyond me, convinced of the truth*
 “*of other views.....In the Catholic Church, the weakest*
 “*enjoys this firm assurance. Ah! Sir, I call you sadly trea-*
 “*cherous, if you endeavour to entice me from this church*
 “*with promises of peace, and have nothing to offer me in*
 “*exchange for the incalculable consolation of which you de-*
 “*prive me.*”

Who, on reading these sentences, will not feel a deep
 regret that their mild and amiable author had not in early
 life been brought into contact with some enlightened and
 judicious adviser, who, while sympathising with his pas-
 sionate desire for rest, might yet have convinced his judg-
 ment that these longings were not to be entirely satisfied
 in this world,—that a complete repose from the conflict with
 our doubts, like that from the struggle with our passions,

is not here to be our lot,—and that to purchase it by the sacrifice of one half of our being is to imitate the fabled companions of the Grecian wanderer,

τῶν ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἦθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι·
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι Λωτοφάγοισι
λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν, νόστου τε λαθέσθαι.¹

¹ Odyss. ix. 94.

THE END.

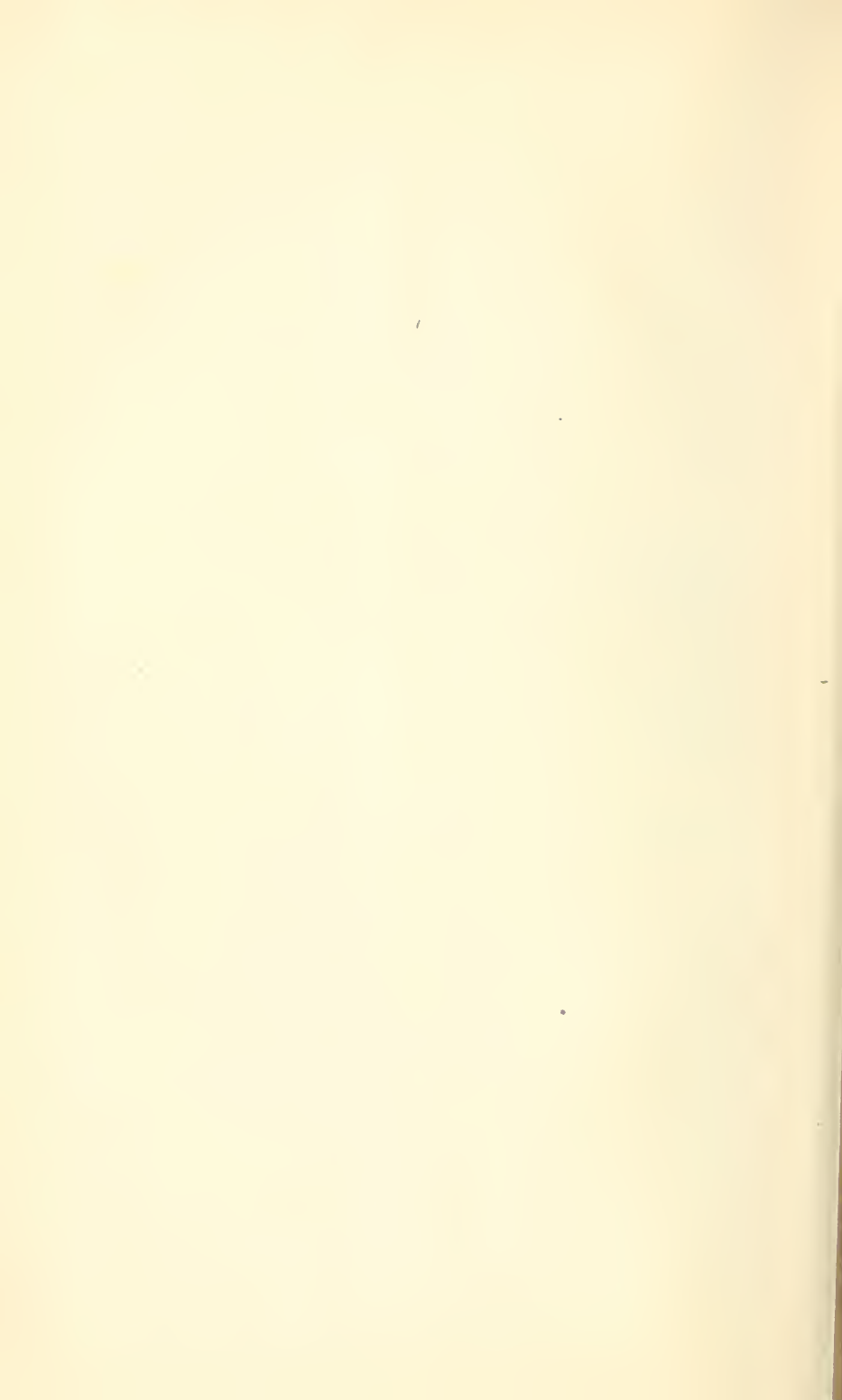
By the same Author.

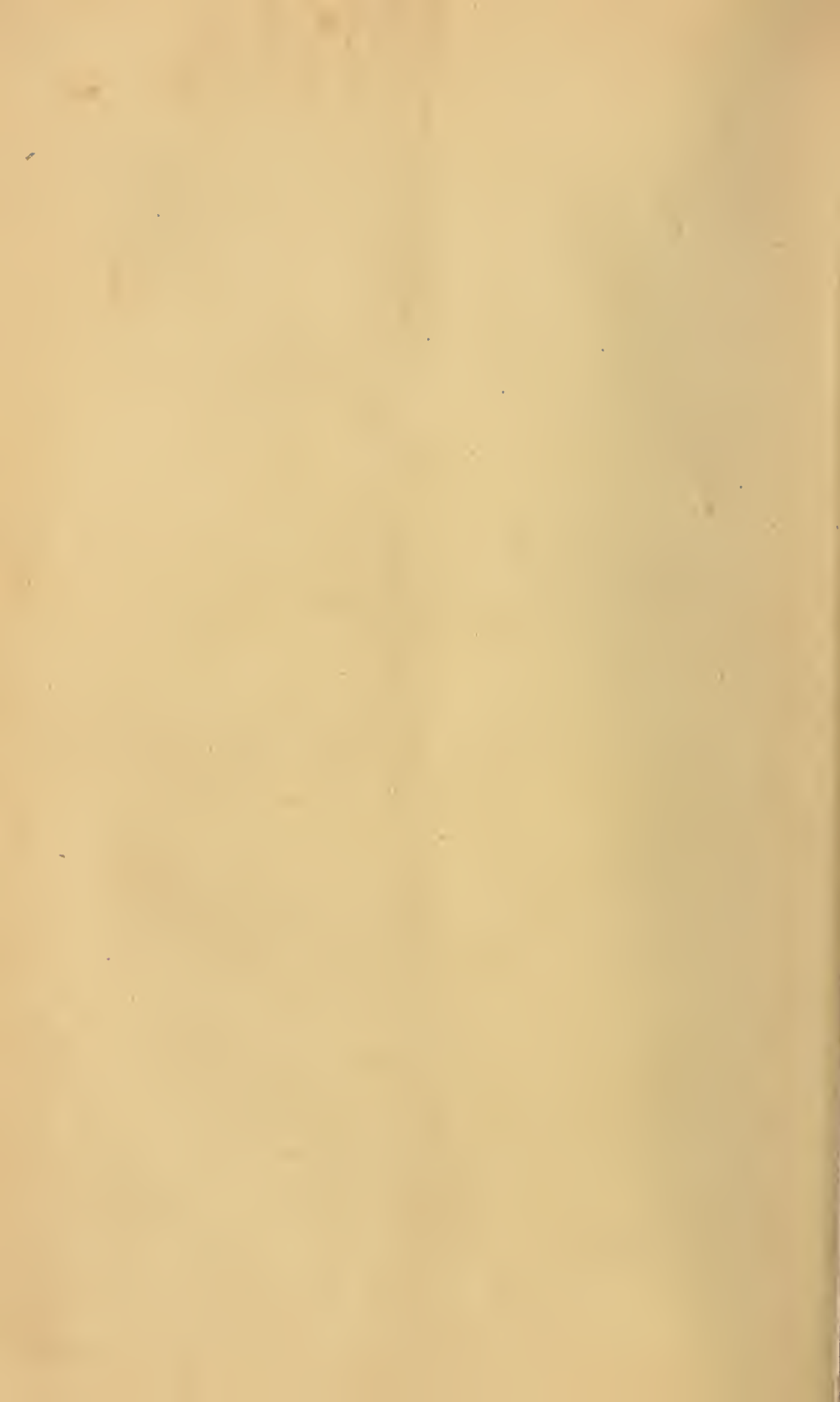
THE STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY ESSENTIALLY GENERAL IN THEIR NATURE; the Commemoration Sermon preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, on Thursday, Dec. 15, 1836.

THOUGHTS ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION, particularly in reference to their probable influence on the state of the UNIVERSITIES; A Letter to WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, Esq. M.P.

A LIFE OF ARISTOTLE, including a critical discussion of some questions of Literary History connected with his Works.







CATHOLICITY AND PROTESTANTISM.

THE

COMMEMORATION SERMON

PREACHED IN

TRINITY COLLEGE CHAPEL,

ON THURSDAY, DEC. 16, 1841.

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF THE COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS;

PUBLISHED BY J. & J. J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE,

AND

JOHN W. PARKER, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XLII.

TO
THE MASTER,
FELLOWS, AND STUDENTS,
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE.

THIS DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THEM,
IS INSCRIBED
WITH FEELINGS OF THE DEEPEST RESPECT
AND MOST AFFECTIONATE INTEREST,

BY
THE AUTHOR.

S E R M O N,

§c.

EPHESIANS IV. 11, 12.

*And he gave some apostles ; and some prophets ; and some evangelists ;
and some pastors and teachers ; for the perfecting of the saints,
for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of
Christ.*

It can rarely happen that one to whom is assigned the task of addressing to his brethren a word of exhortation on such an occasion as the present, should be called upon for a formal discussion of what the fundamental principles are, on which the Institutions under which they live appear to be based. For the very fact that these have endured in prosperity and active usefulness for so long a time, that their reputation has steadily increased through epochs marked by the most varied opinions in the World without, that they have survived periods of civil war which brought sovereigns to the block, and changed dynasties,—proves that the Spirit which is the life of them must always have sufficiently animated the great proportion of those whose duty it was to maintain them. Our constitution may not have been formally analysed, but its principles must have been embodied in the practice, and have animated the exertions of all those genera-

tions who for the last three centuries have sat in our seats, and every successive year met together as we now meet to-day. Else how should the mighty tree have continued to flourish, fresh and green, striking its roots the deeper for the storms of the seventeenth century, spreading out its boughs the wider for the blighting calumnies of the nineteenth? Who can say that in inward force or even in outward shew our College has suffered one jot from the vicissitudes through which it has passed,—that its sphere of usefulness is at present narrower, or the respect with which it is regarded by the world less sincere than in the best days of its past existence?

Still occasions may arise, although few and far between, on which our attention seems naturally directed to some of these fundamental points; and when this is the case, it may not be inexpedient to consider them more fully than would otherwise be necessary or desirable. And this proceeding will possess an additional sanction, if it so happen that an unusual interest exist at the time in subjects upon which these points have an obvious bearing. For although it is certainly not our business to regard with too solicitous an eye the conflict of opinions in the World without, or the degree of prominence which any class of them may at one particular moment assume; yet neither may we so separate ourselves from our brethren, as to take no note of what is going on among them, especially when topics deeply affecting the intellectual, moral, and religious life of the Nation have acquired an absorbing interest among almost all the educated classes.

Such an occasion may we, I apprehend, deem the present one. At every annual meeting the first thought that occurs, is to cast our eyes back over the interval that has elapsed since our last coming together, and remark the changes that have taken place in our Body. This reflection is often a sad one: often has the past year robbed us of those whom we have long known and valued, from whose judgment and experience we have gathered wisdom, or whose immature talents we have assisted to foster and unfold. And indeed the cycle just completed has not been without its lesson that “in the midst of Life we are in Death.” Rarely has the hand of Providence interposed more inscrutably to our unpurged vision than in the year which has just elapsed. Rarely have fairer blossoms been blighted; rarely greater promises of excellence cut suddenly off, than in the instance of one whose ashes rest in a foreign land, far from those who when they last saw him rejoiced in the thought that probably this very moment would find him united with them in the closest of collegiate bonds¹. But another change has likewise come to pass since our last annual meeting, an event the most important which can happen among us. We have been called upon to make a formal transfer of the feelings of loyalty and respect which are due to our Chief

¹ Alexander Chisholm Gooden, Esq. B.A. Scholar of the College, died at Bonn, on the Rhine, where he had gone to pass the long vacation in preparation for the Fellowship Examination to which he intended offering himself a few weeks afterwards. He was senior Chancellor's Medallist in 1840; and his classical attainments were only one part of the furniture of a most highly cultivated and refined mind.

from one object to another, and this in a manner which undoubtedly was intended to convey a lesson to the participators in the solemn ceremony. Solemn it was; and that not merely from the sadness which necessarily accompanies every transition from one epoch to another; for the present instance was free from the most painful feature of such events. Our hopes for future prosperity were not dashed by the mournful thought that he who had hitherto possessed our respect and esteem would not longer be a witness of our career. We were allowed to think of him as probably destined to enjoy for many years the affectionate regard of the Body over which he had so long presided, and to sympathize, as deeply as he had ever done, with its fortunes. But solemn, also and chiefly, was the late ceremony from the profession, *in the presence of the whole of our society*¹, of the principles which are accepted on admission by every member of it, as well as by him who is their Head. He, whom our statutes require to be “truly Catholic and Orthodox²”, they also require to declare, before the whole of that Body which he is to govern,—what each of them, in the presence of more limited numbers, have themselves already declared,—that in the discharge of his duties he will ever be guided by the essential principles of Protestantism³. These,

¹ In Sacello, coram universo Sociorum ejusdem Collegii cætu. *Stat. Coll. Trin.*

² Sitque verè Catholicus et Orthodoxus. *Ibid.*

³ Singuli electi [Socii] antequam admittantur, jusjurandum quod sequitur, sub pænâ locorum suorum amittendorum, coram Magistro et octo Senioribus in Sacello deunt.

Ego N.N. juro ac Deo teste promitto me veram Christi religionem omni animo amplecturum, et Sacræ Scripturæ autoritatem hominum

as might have been expected from the time in which the oath was drawn up, and from the recent events which probably determined its form, are stated separately in an insulated, we may almost say, a polemical manner. Yet as every great principle, however peculiar circumstances may determine the guise in which it first appears, must always contain an element of Eternal Truth, which is valid equally in all places and in all times, we may reasonably expect that even here reflection will discover something permanent and general. The spirit of Freedom exists no less really in a Nation, dwelling contentedly in peace with the whole world, than in the same Nation when rousing its forces to resist the domination of a foreign power: and so is there a spirit of Protestantism which would survive if all the practices and doctrines against which its protests are directed were swept away,—nay more, which

judiciis præpositurum, regulam vitæ ac summam fidei ex verbo Dei petiturum: cætera quæ ex verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis habiturum, auctoritatem Regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum Episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis in religionis causâ antehabiturum, &c. &c.

The oath of the Master is precisely equivalent up to this point.

Ego N.N. a Regiâ Majestate Magister hujus Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitati dedicati designatus juro, et Deo teste, promitto ac spondeo, primo, me veram Christi religionem omni animo amplexurum; Scripturæ auctoritatem hominum judiciis præpositurum, regulam vitæ et summam fidei ex verbo Dei petiturum; cæteraque quæ ex verbo Dei non probantur pro humanis habiturum: Auctoritatem Regiam in hominibus summam et externorum Episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis in religionis causâ antehabiturum, &c. &c.

may have existed antecedently to their appearance, latent indeed and inactive, but no less certainly present than the caloric in the fuel, than the explosive force in the gunpowder. It will be my endeavour in the present discourse to point out what this spirit is, and how it is compatible with true Catholicity, nay is in fact only one phase of it,—Catholicity resisting attacks made from without upon its very essence.

First of all then, let us remember that as Christians, believing in God, the Author and Governor of all Things, and in the redemption of all Mankind by the sacrifice of His Son Jesus Christ, we are bound to believe that there is no portion either of the External Universe or of Man's Nature which is exempt from His superintendence, or which has not participated in the restorative effects of the Redemption. What God hath cleansed, that must not man call common. And the application of this principle we have no right to restrict to any particular class of instances, however much in practice some may strike us more forcibly than others. Thus, for instance, every one will recoil with horror from the thought that barbarous and uncivilized nations, such as exist in the other hemisphere, have no part or share in the blessings of the Gospel. To assert that on them the Light is never to be made to shine, that the Saviour died on the Cross, but not for them, would at once be regarded as the most impious blasphemy. Nor would it avail to urge in support of such a view, that their actual debasement is lower than that of any people on record who have ever attained to the reception of Christianity. Such an ar-

gument might prove that many years, perhaps many ages, would have to elapse before they could be brought to a sense of their privileges. It might furnish a reason for great caution in the mode of making these known to them, for patience and longsuffering in the work of evangelism, for moderation in forming expectations of any rapid results: but it would not prove that they were not our brethren, part and parcel of the human race, partakers of the promises, and with a claim upon us to put them in possession of their inheritance.

But this is a topic upon which few would be inclined to dispute. The case is too clear and simple, when once broadly stated, to admit of a doubt. It is otherwise however with a parallel question, of which at the same time the solution is no less important. If all men have shared in the effects of the Fall, and all have also acquired a right to the blessings of the Redemption: the same must be said of the Individual Man. As every part of him has been corrupted, and enslaved to do the service of Sin, so has every part of him been redeemed and rendered susceptible of sanctification to work the purposes of God. The Reason, the Imagination, the Affections, the very Instincts, if they are natural, must all be regarded as spiritualized under the New Dispensation, unless we would place an arbitrary limit to the effects of that mighty deliverance which has been wrought. We have no more right to brand them with the mark of Satan, because when under the dominion of a carnal will, they produce effects which contain unmingled evil, than we have to exclude

portions of the human race from the privileges of the great Family, because we see them sunk in the depths of that depravity which forms the staple of Savage Life. To exterminate the one, as if they were noxious animals, would justly be deemed a sin to bring down God's judgment: yet they whose horror would be most aroused by such a proposition, would perhaps be forward to recommend the wilful extinction or mutilation of the other. Still the cases are precisely similar. Whether we wilfully discourage the prosecution of Scientific Research, or close the inlets of the soul to the influences of Poetry and Art, or retire into deserts to avoid the sight of our kind, or drive a barbarous people before the face of our own civilization instead of raising them gradually to its level, we act equally in opposition to the great principle of universal regeneration which lies at the root of Christianity. Bigotry, Monks, and Puritanism are all branches from the same stem, all essentially doctrines of Extermination: all of them grounded on an arbitrary limitation of that blessing which we are bound to regard as universal; all of them in a word, fundamentally un-catholic, tending to dis sever the kingdom which is God's alone, and to recognize the Sovereignty of Satan in an integral portion of it.

Let us now yet further consider, that as we cannot consider any portion of the Human Race, or any faculty of the Individual Man excluded from a participation in the effects of the act of Redemption, so neither are we at liberty to suppose that any Age is excluded from the assistance of the Holy Spirit. That the divine aid may be afforded in different ways at different times is only

what the analogy of God's dealings with his people would lead us to expect. That Presence which in the wilderness was manifested in the pillar of fire or smoke, in Jerusalem dwelt between the Cherubim. That Power which in Judæa wrought by the preaching of unlettered fishermen, chose for its instrument among the Gentiles one who had been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. They who at one time are ordered by their Divine Master, to take no scrip or staff, are at another commanded to provide both. Even in the very earliest times the means differ, though the guiding hand remains ever one; there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. Easily therefore may we conceive that in the course of the ages that have elapsed since the Gospel was first preached to the present day, very various instruments may have been employed by Divine Providence for the conservation and communication of that Faith which is salvation. If we find reason in reviewing the history of the Church to suppose that at some epochs one class of these predominated in importance over another, while at others the proportion was reversed, there is surely no cause for surprise: for this phenomenon is only what occurs (and may be expected to occur) in all History, human or divine. But what nothing less than an express declaration would suffice to prove to us, is, that the superintendence of the Holy Spirit should not continue, (diverse indeed in its agency, but undiminished in efficiency,) throughout all time until the end; that any period should arrive before the Consummation of all Things when the promise, "Behold I am with you to the end of the world" should be retracted, and all

future generations excluded from the divine influences which their predecessors had enjoyed. But such limitation is virtually included in every act by which any one age, or any individual, or any particular body of men are set up as a normal standard for all others, to be followed absolutely and implicitly,—no regard being had to the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed,—no judgment allowed as to the grounds on which their opinion and their practice rested,—no distinction permitted as to the relative importance which they themselves may have attached to the several particulars of the one and the other. Such limitation, in whatever form it may appear, is an infringement of the vital principle of Catholicity, and the resistance to it whether as generally stated, or, (as in practice will naturally be the case,) to some of the particular dogmas in which it is embodied, is genuine Protestantism, consisting not, as some would describe it, in a right of private judgment, but in an appeal to universal reason against private judgment;—not in an arbitrary preference of one class of documents to all others, but in a demand that the relative importance of all documents shall be tested;—not in a contempt of the creeds and practices of former ages, but in an appeal from one age to all ages;—not in a disruption of the continuity of the Church, but in an opposition to dogmas which would exclude all future generations from participation in that continuity. Protestantism denies not that the great stream which flowed in the fifteenth Century had its source in the first, but she requires that the channel shall be kept clear, even up to the original fountain, and that no traveller, pro-

perly equipped for the task, shall be hindered from pursuing his journey along the banks, and observing what waters are derived from the parent spring, and what tributaries from other regions fall into the current in its course. She asserts not that all are qualified for this task, or that *any one*, even the most so, is competent to lay down a complete chart of the regions which the mighty river traverses;—far less that none may drink of the waters until he has made the journey;—but she imperatively demands that free access be granted as often as it is required, and that at no point in his course shall the voyager be turned back with the assurance that *for him* there is the Fountain.

Now to this description of the essence of Protestantism it may be objected, that the device which is usually seen displayed upon its banners is different from this,—that the basis on which it rests is something more special than the principle which has just been stated, something which places the differences between Protestants and members of the Church of Rome in a clearer and more striking point of view. It may be urged that no Confessions content themselves with a statement so general and apparently vague,—nay, that the very Profession of Faith which suggested the present discourse does not. There, it may be said, occurs one clause which may point the way to a better and more satisfactory principle. If we each of us profess individually “to prefer the authority of Holy Scripture to the decisions of men,” why fall back upon any more general principle than this suggests? why not adopt the well known language of Chillingworth, that,

“the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the Religion of Protestants,”—adopt it, not only as a practical principle, as it shews itself in the sixth Article of our Church, and in the Oath of the Master and Fellows of our College, but as a scientific one;—not only as the ultimate standard of Christian practice and Christian instruction, but as the starting point of Theological Inquiry?

I answer that this cannot be done, because the principle suggested is *secondary* and *derivative*, and that this property, although by no means an objection to it as a symbol of union between several parties, and a security for their agreement in action, is fatal to its claim to be the basis of a System of Truths. An illustration may perhaps render this position clearer. If a physical philosopher were to commence a theory of the universe with laying down the Laws of Motion, and the position of the planets according to the system of Copernicus, and were to deny that any experiments were requisite for the purpose of confirming the one of these assumptions, or any observations in order to justify the other, we should at once declare that he had deserted the true principles of scientific investigation. Nor would this censure be the more withheld if the observations and experiments in question were tedious and troublesome, requiring greater skill and industry to make them than fall to the lot of most men. Neither would it make any difference in the question, if the science referred to were one, the results of which had an important bearing upon the daily life of men. It would be held no argument to say that

the need was pressing, and that the investigation could not be waited for. The reply would be obvious. We do not demand that the investigation should be made by all, or by the hundredth, or the millionth part of those who accept the derivative principles: what we demand is that they should be stated as derivative, and their dependence on such investigation not ignored. Let us suppose however such a state of things, that for the interests of the Body Politic it were requisite to have large or important classes of the community trained in the science which we have brought forward as an illustration; and that for this purpose certain persons were appointed to instruct them. It is imaginable that men of great ingenuity might conceive the notion of explaining the phenomena of the Universe on the principles of Descartes or Ptolemy; and of course under such circumstances it would be desirable to exclude these from situations which would afford the opportunity of propagating their views in quarters where the intellect of the auditory was insufficiently prepared for discriminating between them and sounder ones. For the attainment of this practical purpose it would not be sufficient to lay down the primary principle that observation and experiment were to be the tests of doctrine. It would be necessary to resort to the secondary and derivative one, which here would be strictly appropriate as an ultimate test of the teacher's practical qualifications; although nothing would be less meant by thus laying it down, than that it rested on no other foundation than itself.

All bodies of men united together for combined

action, must link themselves by such secondary principles, whether formally expressed or not. Such are the chief provisions of its constitution to a Government,—such its maxims and regular forms to a Court of Law,—such its Articles to a Church. They may all be considered as the Conditions of Union, without which the elements that make up the Body would separate from each other, and the whole fall to pieces: but they are not, from their importance in this point of view, the less secondary and derivative for the purposes of scientific investigation. A chaotic confusion would arise if questions affecting the disposition of property were decided by the judge on general principles of Equity; but who would therefore argue that the basis of Equity was the Collection of Precedents?

The existence of Articles embodying derivative doctrines in a Protestant Church, or in a Body such as our own, is therefore not necessarily a contradiction of the general principle which I have stated above as characteristic of genuine Protestantism. Such derivative doctrines put forward no pretensions to be other than what they are, namely common ground which a body of men united for practical purposes are content to occupy together, let them have reached it how they may.

Having seen now that the special form of the profession of Faith demanded from each of us does not affect the question, let us briefly consider how appropriately the spirit of true Protestantism may seek for a home in retreats dedicated to science and learning,—and again how cheerfully such as are employing their lives in the pursuit of these, may acquiesce in the re-

flection that they are promoting the interests of Religion. If we once accede to the proposition that the highest standard of Truth is the expressed opinions of any one body of men received absolutely and implicitly,—without any criticism as to the objects at which the declaration pointed,—without any consideration of the position of the individuals,—without any regard had to the feelings and habits of the times in which they lived,—I do not see how we can be justified in extending our researches into the greater part of the branches of human knowledge. The celebrated saying of the Arabian conqueror when urged to spare the library of Alexandria would become us far better. It is useless to urge that what we set up as our normal pattern may be illustrated or defended by the acquisition of extrinsic knowledge. Not to speak of the cumbrous machinery for effecting this result, it may be questioned whether any amount of knowledge, *if sought for on this principle*, does not furnish more new doubts than explanations of old ones. Nor will it avail to urge that the spiritual nature of Man is the only region in which Reason must be silent, while elsewhere her voice is supreme. What interest, I would ask, has any knowledge whatever which has no bearing, mediate or immediate, on the spiritual destinies of Man?—if it be not fitter to ask what knowledge is there to which this description will apply? If such there were, it would be regarded by all with absolute indifference, or at best with vague and empty curiosity. There is a conviction in Man that every thing which he sees around him on Earth has a law, that these laws proceed from the same God who

made him and placed him in that Earth, that between them and those by which he himself is governed there is a vital connexion,—that his own existence has a design, and that to this every thing else which is, was made to contribute. Without this conviction he would live and die like the beast of the field. But with this conviction comes also a recognition of the sacred character of that Light which reveals these secrets to him; to this he cannot shut his eyes, without shutting them to everything; if there be any likeness of God in his nature, here are its lineaments. And if under the full conviction of this truth, and with the sense of responsibility which naturally flows from it, he proceeds to make use of the instrument which he thus finds put into his hands,—possible although it be that now and then his path will lie through caverns and darksome dens, and he may at times be led to fear that he has left the region of day for ever,—yet at the worst of times it will rarely happen that a very few steps more do not bring him again into the light on a much higher eminence than he before occupied, and shew him order and harmony where before he had seen only discordance and confusion. Let us not believe that such investigations, conducted in such a spirit, will diminish respect for those who have gone before us. There is nothing which exhibits the value of the Past in so strong a light as the accurate examination of what it really is that the Present owes to it. Without this we are perpetually in danger of alternately making an idol of it, and heaping upon it that contempt which the discovery of idolatry naturally produces. One Age will exhibit

the one phenomenon and the next the other; and to this oscillation no termination can arrive except through that reasonable reverence which springs from courageous and honest enquiry, conducted in the feeling that all Truth is sacred,—that all has a necessary connexion with the Highest Truth,—and that into all Truth will the Spirit of Truth guide those who trust in Him.

It is in the prosecution of such enquiries, conducted in such a confidence, and directed to such an end, that we may recognize the authentic features of that Theology which our statutes lay down as the *ultimate object*¹ of our studies, and which is well described by one of the greatest² that ever belonged to our Body as “the haven and port of all learning.” Such a Theology is no meagre professional study,—no mere accumulation of information on one subject,—no insulated science standing in opposition marked, if not hostile, to any class of others. Patristic Learning, Biblical Criticism, are only parts, and very small parts, of it. Wherever the spirit of Man has left traces of itself, there will it find facts; wherever the hand of God has been displayed, there will it recognize laws. Polemical skill will be the least valued talent, and the advocacy of controverted points the least favourite employment of a Theologian of this kind. Where he willingly comes forward to pronounce on these, it will generally be in the form of a deduction from some higher principle than either of the contending parties have been

¹ Sanctam Theologiam mihi finem studiorum propositurum. *Trin. Coll. Stat.*

² Lord Bacon.

aware of,—some principle which will enable him to assign to each the proportion of Truth which they really possess. Toleration, not the toleration of Indifference, but that of Insight,—not the toleration of Scepticism but that of Faith, will be habitual to him. He will be able to respect and approve the principles and the practices of his own age, without cherishing the foolish expectation of finding them in every other. He will understand how visible symbols, although perhaps mean or grotesque in themselves, may have been necessary for conveying to simple people of untutored understandings a lively image of divine transactions, and religious doctrines, without harbouring a wish to reproduce them in a period of superior taste as well as understanding. He will comprehend how in an Age immediately succeeding that in which our blessed Lord lived and moved among men, an interest would attach to the discourse of those who had seen and talked with him, and whose hands had touched him, which would for a time throw all written memorials into comparative neglect¹:—but this will not

¹ The extract from Papias's Preface, which is given by Eusebius (H. E. III. cap. 39.), shews the influence of this feeling even in the next generation. *εἰ δὲ πον καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν; ἢ τί Φίλιππος; ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος; ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν; ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης [οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ] λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν μέ ὠφέλειν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης. But the obvious rapidity with which such narrations would become corrupted in their transmission, soon produced a proper appreciation of the importance of written documents. Not till then would the necessity be perceived for an*

hinder him from applauding the conduct of the generation who many centuries afterwards preferred the authority of those memorials to that of any fragments of such discourses as might chance to exist. He will reverence the spiritual ancestry from which he is descended, but will not consider that the best way of exhibiting his reverence for them, is to array himself in their costume, and affect their forms of speech. He will discern how under an external diversity there may be a substantial unity: and how there may no where so little agreement be found as in a region where no dissenting voice makes itself heard. But in no respect will his distinctive characteristics be more perceivable than in his protest against those who would divide the Indivisible, and dis sever that which is essentially One, Eternal and Immutable Truth.

authoritative discrimination between these, the complete effecting of which would require a considerable period. And hence we may find a clue to the several phenomena of the gradual and comparatively late fixation of the Canon,—the multitude of apocryphal gospels in the early ages and their rapid neglect,—the growing repute of the Canonical Scriptures during the period in which the others perished, and several other interesting facts in Ecclesiastical History. It need scarcely be remarked, that as the “living voice” of Papias is a very different thing from the “oral tradition” of later controversialists, so neither are the βιβλία of which he speaks the collection of Canonical Scriptures, although he very likely may have included some of them among the writings he was referring to. But the technical opposition of the words παράδοσις and γραφαί, connected with the controversy which is continually going on between the Protestant and Romish communions in modern times, could hardly have been made intelligible to any one living in the first or second century.

By the same Author.

THE STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY ESSENTIALLY
GENERAL IN THEIR NATURE; the Commemoration Sermon
preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, on Thursday,
Dec. 15, 1836.

SEMINARIES OF SOUND LEARNING AND RELIGIOUS
EDUCATION; the Commemoration Sermon preached in the Chapel
of Trinity College, Cambridge, on Monday, Dec. 16, 1839.

A LIFE OF ARISTOTLE, including a critical discussion of
some questions of Literary History connected with his Works.

W B Donne Esq

SPECIMENS
OF
ANTIEN HYMNS
OF THE
WESTERN CHURCH.

Auctoribus uti optimis in omnibus causis, et debet et solet valere
plurimum; et primum quidem *omni antiquitate*; quæ quo pro-
prius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse quæ
erant vera cernebat. *Cic. Tusc. Disp. I. 12.*

Quisquis, quantusquisque alioqui sit, veteris Ecclesie Catholicæ
auctoritatem contempserit, catenus nullam ipse, apud nos, fidem aut
auctoritatem merebitur.

Rp. Bull's Def. Fid. Nic. IV, i, 8.

(WITH AN APPENDIX.)

NORWICH:

FIFTY-SIX COPIES FROM THE PRESS OF
JOSIAH FLETCHER,
JANUARY, MDCCCXXV.



SPECIMENS
OF
ANTIEN^T HYMNS
OF THE
WESTERN CHURCH.

Auctoribus uti optimis in omnibus causis, et debet et solet valere
plurimum; et primum quidem *omni antiquitate*; quæ quo pro-
prius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse quæ
erant vera cernebat. Cic.

Quisquis, quantusquisque alioqui sit, veteris Ecclesiæ Catholicæ
auctoritatem contempserit, eatenus nullam ipse, apud uos, fidem aut
auctoritatem merebitur.

BP. BULL's *Def. Fid. Nic.* IV, i, 8.

(WITH AN APPENDIX.)

NORWICH:
FIFTY-SIX COPIES FROM THE PRESS OF
JOSIAH FLETCHER,
JANUARY, MDCCCXXXV.

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
HENRY,
BY DIVINE PERMISSION
LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH,
THIS
UNPUBLISHED VOLUME
IS, WITH MUCH VENERATION
FOR HIS MANY VIRTUES,
INSCRIBED.

The ensuing pages were transcribed during the long vacation of 1833, from a presentation copy to Dr. E. D. Clarke, discovered in the library of the University of Cambridge. Several additions were designed, but the hope is indulged that the writer of some articles in the British Magazine will in time form a volume to accompany not unworthily Mr. Palmer's *ORIGINES LITURGICÆ*, in which are brought together the antient originals of the chief portion of the Liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland—so ignorantly asserted to have been borrowed from the *Romanist ritual*.

Many of these compositions have been supplied with exquisite melodies; for instance Leo and Pergolesi have furnished delicious music for the hymn of Pentecost *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, the *Dies Irae*, and the *Stabat mater dolorosa*. The following pages are rather excerpts than entire compositions, and are adapted to bind with Sir Alex. Croke's Essay on Rhymed Latin Verse, at the end of which one or two celebrated hymns are given.

The marginal numbers denote the pages of Mr. Matthias' original brochure.

Copies of the present limited re-print are deposited in the libraries of the University and Trinity College, Cambridge; the Bodleian, British Museum, University of Durham, Athenæum Liverpool, Dean and Chapter Norwich, and Norfolk and Norwich Literary Institution.

FREDERICK MARTIN, M. A. TRIN. COLL.

most of 7. 10 & 40

Latin only

the name of a Bishop

Chapter

This note is only a report by an 18th century
"O" Samuel

LYRICA SACRA

EXCERPTA

EX HYMNIS ECCLESIAE

ANTIQUIS.

Aura, che spiri
Dai colli di Sionne, aleggia, e scuoti
Dalle cetre antichissime e sacrate
D' oblio la polve oscura !

PRIVATIM EXCUSA

ROMAE.

1818.

OMAGGIO

A ROMA.

*“ A te siam giunti, o gloriosa terra,
Con le ghirlande d' onorati versi,
Movendo il guardo al Palatino intorno,
E di letizia e reverenza gravi
Salutiam le famose ombre degli Avi !”*

GUIDI.

Nemo est, ut opinor, aut ingenii cultioris, aut moribus et doctrinâ libero dignis pauló instructor, et in sacris literis versatus, qui non aliquando secum et fata et fortunas orbis Christiani penitiús contemplari voluerit. Sin veró, aut stimulis ingentibus aut Musarum monitis, aut quiete placidâ parúm contentus, aut fato quodam delatus, Arnun et Faesulanos illos colles, et Tiberis ripas, et aeternam ROMÆ sedem feliciter invisit, nae ille profectó virtutem ejus antiquam, et merita, et religionem, et gloriam, et templa, et ritus, et concentus sacros miratur, dum tantæ urbis textum vix enarrabile animo ardentiore amplectitur,

Dum singula lactus

Exquiratque auditque virûm monumenta priorum.

Regere imperio populos, ut olim, Romanis jam negatum sit; fateor: sed Paci morem quendam et cultum 4 imponere, sed artibus expolire, sed aera excudere non aliás molliús spirantia, vultus de marmore vel vivos educere, coloribusque egregiis nunc homines nunc Deos effingere, hoc Romanae est solertiae; haec Romanis, haec Italiae propria concessa sunt dona. Sapienti quidem melior literarum atque artium, quam regnorum, visa semper est conditio, utpote quae nec culpâ, nec monitis, nec imperio *tyrannorum* (luxuriam licet in flagitiis, et in

suppliciis crudelitatem, et in rapinis avaritiam, et in contumeliis superbiam effraenatè undequaque exercuerint) funditús aut opprimantur unquam aut extinguantur.

Aliis alia grata sunt studia; mihi inter templorum moles liberiús spatiari, aut picturis non inanibus animum inhiantem pascere, aut melioris aevi reliquias, marmora et simulacra (signa nimirúm .postibus *Gallorum* superbis
5 direpta et *Jovi* restituta *proprio*) iterum atque iterum avidè contemplari, aut denique, uberrimo quasi de fonte, concentus sacros haurire liceat;

Dum per templi aditus divae spectacula pompae

Lucis et umbrarum dant retegenda vices,

Fulgentemque patres, sequitur dum turba canentum,

Supplice et exorant voce genuque crucem.

Loci profectó religione commotus, quotiescunque principem illam (Apostolorum principe et pleno Apostolorum consessu omni ex parte dignissimam) intravi Ecclesiam, ¹ vesperâ ingravescente, cereis aurata per laquearia noctem vincentibus, dum per ampliora spatia vocem totus volutabat chorus, quanto tremore percussus, quantâ potius voluptate perfusus, obstupui! Cum autem chordis gravioribus et cantu pleniore sanctissimum intonuit melos,
6 cum diem irae, et saeculum in favillâ ² solutum, et tubam mirum per sepulchra spargentem sonum, (Morte et Naturâ stupentibus!) et Mundum judicanti Deo reponsurum, totus ille concinuit et concelebravit chorus, gaudia quaedam, terras nec spectantia nec redolentia, pectus tacitum pertentavere, dum per ipsa coelorum penetralia paululúm quasi patere visa sunt.

¹ Sancti Petri.

² . . . Στοιχέων ἐν ἑστῇ
Ῥοιζῇθον ἐμπροσθεν.

Veggendo in quell' albòr balenar CRISTO.³

Auspiciis procul dubio majoribus, precibus imò de corde effusis, verbis ardentioribus, et linguâ et mente et sensu et vigore propriis, Deum praesentiorē Ecclesiae adoraverunt patres.⁴ Hinc vivae voces: hinc (ut verbis a Theologo⁵ illo praegrandi in Patmo olim de coelo clariùs exauditis utar) quasi “lampades erant ante thronum Dei ardentes.” Ecquis canticum illud Ambrosianum “Te Deum Laudamus,” vel numeris metro solutis, Angelis Τρισάγιον sonantibus, auribus atque animo imbiberit, qui non in illo lyrici carminis onera et majestatem sustineri lubenter agnoscat? Tot vero et tanta laudum divinarum argumenta non uno elaborata⁷ sunt artificio; non cultus idem, non unus est color, nec par in omnibus praelucet gratia. Sed, nescio quo modo, mihi Hymnorum antiquorum seriem in manus sumenti, in quibusdam illorum, rariùs et curiosiori quâdam felicitate, vel *leoninus* ille, qui dicitur, (materiâ scilicet conveniente) legenti aliquando sese commendat rythmus. Et profectò cui non commoveatur animus, audienti,

Tuba mirum spargens sonum

Per sepulchra regionum

Coget omnes ante thronum!⁶

Sed foliis hisce sacris (modo ita loqui liceat) violae vel⁸ nigrae amoenior quaedam subluet purpura. Cum enim coeli indulgentiam, et “Martyrum candidatum exercitum,” et aureum Solis Christiani jubar vel ortum vel oriturum concelebrat, saepius plectro molliore dulcem

³ Dante Parad. xiv.

⁴ Gregorius Naz. Basilus, Chrysostomus ect. “*Schiera di cotanto senno!*”

⁵ Ἰωαννης ὁ Θεολογος!

⁶ Ex Hymno, cui nomen “Dies Iræ.”

Horatianae testudinis sonum sancta non dedignata est temperare Ecclesia. *Paucula* igitur, eruditis auribus non indigna, veterum lyricorum sapore quodam tincta, remotioris aevi delicias, excerpta hic invenies carmina. Jacent interea sine nomine, et famae et fortunae terrestri pariter ignoti, sanctissimi jacent vates: propriam quaerebant olim a Deo gloriam; acceperunt mercedem suam aeterni aeternam:

Deo pleni, tacitâ quem mente colebant,
Fuderunt dignas adytis é pectore voces.

T. [J.] M.[atthias.]

ANGLUS.

Romæ, Januar. 1818.

LYRICA SACRA
EXCERPTA
EX HYMNIS ECCLESIAE ANTIQUIS.

9

DOMINICA AD VESPERAS.

O luce qui mortalibus
Lates inaccessâ, Deus,
Præsente quo sancti tremunt
Velantque vultus Angeli !

Hic ceu profundâ conditi
Demergimur caligine.
Æternus at noctem suo
Fulgore depellet dies.

Hunc nempe nobis præparas
Nobis reservas hunc diem,
Quem vix adumbrat splendida
Flammantis astri claritas.

Moraris, heu ! nimis diu
Moraris, optatus dies :
Ut te fruamur, noxii

[sic] Liquenda moles corporis ;

Et cum soluta vinculis
Mens evolârit, ô Deus,
Fac lucis usurae brevi
Æterna succedat dies !

10

IN DIE OMNIUM SANCTORUM.

Coelo quos eadem gloria consecrat
 Terris vos eadem concelebrat dies :
 Lacti vestra simul prœmia pangimus
 Duris parta laboribus !

Jam vos pascit Amor nudaque Veritas ;
 De pleno bibitis gaudia flumine :
 Illic perpetuam mens satiat sitim
 Sacris ebria fontibus.

Altis secum habitans in penetralibus
 Se Rex ipse suo contuitu beat,
 Illabensque, sui prodigus, intimis
 Sese mentibus inserit.

Pronis turba senum cernua frontibus,
 Inter tot rutili fulgura luminis,
 Regnanti Domino devovet aurea,
 Quæ ponit, diademata.

11 Gentes innumerae, conspicuæ stolas
 Agni purpureo sanguine candidas,
 Palmis laeta cohors, cantibus acmulis
 Ter sanctum celebrant Deum.

AD HORAM SEXTAM.

Jam Solis excelsum jubar
 Toto coruscat lumine,
 Sinusque pandens aureos
 Ignita vibrat spicula :
 Tu, Christe, qui mundum novâ,
 Sol verus, accendis face,
 Fac nostra plenam charitas
 Crescendo surgat ad diem.

AD HORAM NONAM.

Labente jam Solis rotâ
 Inclinat in noctem dies :
 Sic vita supremam cito
 Festinat ad metam gradu.

FEST. S. APOST. PETRI ET PAULI.

12

Tandem laborum, gloriosi Principes,
 Fructum tenetis : fana passim corruunt ;
 Quin ipsa laté Roma, victrix gentium,
 Se Christiano jam stupet subdi jugo !
 Saevit tyrannus, at triumphant victimæ ;
 Alter per ensem victor, alter per crucem,
 Coelo coronam laureati possident,
 Fususque sanguis Christianos seminat.
 Superba sordent Cæsares cadavera,
 Queis urbs litabat impii cultûs ferax,
 Apostolorum gloriatur ossibus
 Fixamque adorat collibus suis crucem.
 Nunc ô cruore purpurata nobili ,
 Novisque felix, Roma, conditoribus,
 Horum trophæis aucta, quantó veriûs
 Regina fulges orbe toto Civitas !

S. GENOVEFÆ.

Coelo receptam plaudite, Coelites,
 Quae vestra nascens gaudia fecerat,
 Sponsae fideli destinatum
 Intrat ovans Genovéfa regnum.

13

Dum mens adepto perfruitur Deo,
 Tellus verendas exuvias habet ;
 Non tota discedis : superstes
 Ossibus hîc cinerique virtus.
 Heu, quot procellis cingimur, ô Deus !
 Dirî quot hostes insidias parant !
 Da corpus invictum periclis,
 Da niveam sine labe mentem.

FEST. INNOCENTII.

Salvete, flores Martyrum,
 In lucis ipso lumine
 Quos saevus ensis demetit,
 Ceu turbo nascentes rosas :
 Vos, prima Christi victima,
 Grex immolatorum tener,
 Aram sub ipsam simplices
 Palmâ, coronis luditis.

DIES ASCENSIONIS.

14

Opus peregrini tui :
 Te, Christe, victorem necis
 Æterna, quam reliqueras,
 Coelo reposcit gloria.
 Jam nube vectus fulgidâ
 Terras jacentes despicias ;
 educta longo carcere
 Regem sequuntur agmina :
 Mirante turbâ coelitem
 Panduntur aeternae fores,
 Ovansque sublimem Patris
 HOMO-DEUS scandis thronum !

FEST. CORONAE SPINARUM.

Christi cruentae splendida principum
Non certet unquam purpura purpuræ :

Junco palustri sceptræ cedant,

Textilibus diadema spinis.

His fretus armis victor alienos

Postes revulsit claustraque Tartari,

Coctusque captivos piorum

In patrias revocavit arces :

Quin et premebat quos fera servitus

Tristi gementes eripuit iugo,

Et nocte damnatos profundâ

Ad superas dedit ire sedes.

QUADRAGES.

15

Vos ante Christi tempora

Christi fideles asseclæ,

Verenda justorum cohors,

Primique credentûm patres,

Vestram-ne quis dignis queat

Efferre laudibus fidem !

Quis crebra anhelantis spei

Quis explicet suspiria !

Hic exules, hic advenæ,

Mundi figuram spernitis ;

Hic vivido vos spiritu

Promissa libatis bona ;

Intenta mens uni Deo

Respectat æternas domos ;

Fac, Christe, nos veram simul

Desiderare patriam !

IN EPIPHANIAM.

Húc vos, ô miseri, surda relinquit
 (Quae caeci colitis) mutaque numina :
 Se vobis aperit splendida civitas
 Veri Numinis hospita.

16 En ! vestrae praeceunt primitiae, Magi !

Vatum dicta patent ; exitiabilis
 Errorum tenebris obsita gens diú
 Miro lumine spargitur.

O arcana Dei consilia ! ò tuo
 Deturbata gradu, primus amor Dei,
 Plebs Judaea ! tuis gloria gentium
 Damnis vitaeque nascitur.

Jam nativa oleae brachia decidunt,
 Rami degeneres, germen adulterum,
 Miraturque novos semine non suo
 Arbor crescere surculos.

Page 17 contains the first four (3 and 4 being *in Italics*) with the seventh and eighth stanzas of *Dies Iræ* ; of stanza eight the *middle* line is omitted and the *third* is printed thus : Salva nos, ô fons pictatis !

Page 18 contains stanza eleven (with a *colon* at the end) and stanzas seventeen, eighteen, nineteen,

reus :

Supplici parce DEUS !

A blank leaf succeeds ; then

ROMAE

EXCUDEBAT DE ROMANIS.

MDCCCXVIII.

PRAESIDUM FACULTATE.

What follows may be regarded as supplemental to Sir A. Croke's *Essay on Rhymed Latin Verse*.⁷

The excellent Dr. H. More, (*Mystery of Iniquity*, 1664, fol. part II, book i, ch. xvii, § 7,) in pursuing his comparison of the pagan ceremonies with those of the degenerate church, commemorates a not unpleasing supplication to the Blessed Virgin, (*Regina Cæli*,) used by mariners in storms at sea.

Salve, splendor Firmamenti,
Tu caliginosæ menti
Desuper irradiâ:
Placa mare, maris stella,
Nè involvat nos procella
Et tempestas obvia.

Mr. Blunt, in his *Vestiges of Antient Manners in Italy*, Lond. 1823, prints p. 10, these lines:

SCENE—*The Cavern of Monte Pellegrino.*

Locum intras tenebrosum;
Nec te piget luminosum
Vultum solis non videre;
Nempe Christo vis placere.
In hâc cellâ Peregrinâ
Terram calcas, et divina
Meditando, supernorum
Socia fis habitatorum.

⁷ Wherewith should be bound Mr. Sandys' very agreeable *Specimens of Macaronic Poetry*: Lond. Beckley.

Nunc te liliis, nunc te rosis,
 Sponsus ornat odorosis;
 Nunc apostolos miraris,
 Nunc Mariam contemplaris, &c.

“ In Pellegrino’s gloomy cell,
 For Christ thou bid’st the world farewell;
 And musing there in heavenly love,
 Hold’st converse with the powers above.
 To deck that brow thy spouse bestows
 A lily here, and there a rose;
 While stand confess’d before thy view,
 Our Lady and the apostles too.”

Again, p. 18, these Monkish rhymes, near the altar
 of the same S. Rosolia, at Palermo :

Nunc, o Virgo gloriosa,
 Candens lilium, rubens rosa,
 Audi preces, audi vota
 Quæ profundit gens devota—
 Terræ-motum, pestem, bellum,
 Procul pelle; nec flagellum
 Appropinquet civitati,
 Quæ tuæ fudit pietati.

“ Virgin, modest as the rose,
 Fairer than the lily’s snows,
 Listen while our lips disclose
 A nation’s prayer—
 Nature’s scourges banish hence,
 Earthquake, battle, pestilence;

Or grant us but thy firm defence,

And come what dare.

“How little,” adds Mr. Blunt, “does this strain of supplication differ from that of propitiation addressed by Horace to Apollo. Od. I. xxi, 13—16.

Honest Tusser preserves, with his own English,

ST. BERNARD'S VERSES.

Diabolo cum resistitur, est ut formica : cùm verò ejus
suggestio recipitur, fortis est ut leo.

OUT OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

When Satan we resist, a pismire shall he be,
But when we seem to give him place, a lion then is he.

¶ EIGHT OF ST. BARNARD'S VERSES, BOTH IN LATIN
AND ENGLISH, WITH ONE NOTE^s TO THEM BOTH.

1. CUR mundus militat, sub vana gloria,
Cujus prosperitas est transitoria?
Tam citò labitur ejus potentia,
Quàm vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.
1. Why so triumphs the world, in pomp and glory vain,
Whose taste so happy thought, so fickle doth remain?
Whose brav'ry slippery stands, and doth so soon decay,
As doth the potter's pan, compact of brittle clay.

^s i. e. the same air serving for both.

2. Plus crede literis, scriptis in glacie,
Quàm mundi fragilis vanæ fallaciæ;
Fallax in præmiis, virtutis specie,
Quæ nunquam habuit tempus fiducia.
2. More credit see thou give, to letters wrote in ice,
'Than unto vain deceits, of brittle world's device;
In gifts to virtue due, beguiling many a one,
Yet those same never have long time to hope upon.
3. Magis credendum est viris fallacibus,
Quam mundi miseris prosperitatibus,
Falsis insaniis et voluptatibus,
Falsis quoque studiis et vanitatibus.
3. 'To false dissembling men more trust is to be had,
'Than to the prosperous state of wretched world, so
bad:
What with voluptuousness, and other maddish toys,
False studies won with pain, false vanities and joys.
4. Dic ubi Salamon, olim tam nobilis?
Vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis?
Vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?
4. Tell where is Salamon, that once so noble was?
Or where now Samson is, in strength whom none
could pass?
Or worthy Jonathas, that prince so lovely bold;
Or fair Absolon, so goodly to behold;
5. Quò Cæsar abiit, celsus imperio?
Vel Dives splendidus, totus in prandio?

Die ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio?
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?

5. Shew whither is Cæsar gone, that conquer'd far and
near?

Or that rich famous earl, so given to belly cheer?
Shew where is Tully now, for eloquence so fit?
Or Aristoteles, of such a pregnant wit?

6. O esca vermium ! O massa pulveris !
O ros ! O vanitas ! cur sic extolleris ?
Ignoras penitus, utrùm cras vixeris,
Fac bonum omnibus, quàm diu poteris.

6. O thou fit bait for worms ! O thou great heap of dust !
O dew ! O vanity ! why so extoll'st thy lust ?
Though therefore ignorant what time thou hast to live,
Do good to every man, while here thou hast to give.

7. Quàm breve festum est, hæc mundi gloria?
Ut umbra hominis, sic ejus gaudia ;
Quæ semper subtrahit æterna præmia,
Et ducunt hominem ad dura devia.

7. How short a feast (to count) is this same world's
renown?

Such as men's shadows be, such joys it brings to town;
Which always plucketh us from God's eternal bliss,
And leadeth man to hell, a just reward of his.

8. Hæc mundi gloria, quæ magni penditur,
Sacris in literis flos fœni dicitur ;
Vel leve folium quod vento rapitur,
Sic vita hominum, hæc vitâ tollitur.

8. The bravery of this world, esteemed here so much,
 In Scripture likened is, to flower of grass and such.
 Like as the leaf so light, which wind abroad doth blow,
 So doth this worldly life, the life of man bestow.
-

MR. URBAN, *East Retford. December 11.*

AT the end of a remarkably fine copy of Lyndewode "Super Constitutiones Provinciales Anglie," printed at Paris, in 1555, at the charges of William Bretton, an honest merchant of London, which I purchased a short time since; there are in MS. the following verses, which in the course of my very limited reading, have never fallen in my way. They appear to me well worth the attention of the public at large, if not of the very reverend body to whom they were addressed.

Yours, &c.

J. HOLMES.

"VERBA WILLIELMI LINDEWODE AD CLERUM.

1. Viri venerabiles, Sacerdotes Dei,
 Precones Altissimi, Lucernæ Dici,
 Charitatis radio fulgentes et spei,
 Auribus percipite verba oris mei.

2. Vos in Sanctuario Dei deservitis,
 Vos vocavit Palmites XPS,⁹ vera Vitis;
 Cavete ne steriles aut inanes sitis,
 Si cum vero Stipite vivere velitis.

⁹ Christus.—J. H.

3. Vos estis catholicæ legis Protectores,
 Sal terræ, Lux hominum, ovium Pastores,
 Muri domûs Israël, morum Correctores,
 Judices Ecclesiæ, Gentium Doctores.

4. Si cadat protectio legis, lex labetur;
 Si Sal evanuerit, in quo salietur?
 Nisi Lux appareat, via nescitur;
 Nisi Pastor vigilet ovile frangetur.

5. Vos cepistis vineam Dei procurare,
 Quam Doctrinæ rivulis debitis rigare,
 Spinas atque tribulos procul extirpare,
 Ut radices Fidei possint germinare.

6. Vos estis in arcâ boves triturantes,
 Prudenter à paleâ grana separantes;
 Vos habent pro speculo legem ignorantes
 Laici qui fragiles sunt et inconstantes.

7. Quicquid vident Laici vobis displicere,
 Dicunt procul dubio, sibi non licere;
 Quicquid vos in opere vident adimplere,
 Credunt esse licitum, et culpâ carere.

8. Cum Pastores ovium sitis constituti,
 Non estote desides, sicut Canes muti;
 Vobis non deficiant latratus acuti,
 Lupus rapax invidet ovium saluti.

9. Grex fidelis triplici cibo sustinetur:
 Corpore Dominico, quo salus augetur;
 Sermonis compendio, cum discretè detur;
 Mundano cibario, ne periclitetur.

10. Oribus tenemini vestris predicare,
 Sed quid, quibus, qualiter, ubi, quando, quare,
 Debitis sollicitè præconsiderare,
 Nequis in officio dicat vos errare.

11. Spectat ad officium vestræ dignitatis
 Gratia petentibus dona dare gratis;
 Et si unquam fidei munera vendatis,
 Incursuros Girzi lepram vos sciatis.

12. Gratis eucharistiam plebi ministrare,
 Gratis confitemini, gratis baptizate;
 Secundum Apostolorum cuncta gratis date;
 Solum id quod fuerit vestrum, conservate.

13. Vestra conversatio sit religiosa,
 Munda conscientia, vita virtuosa,
 Regularis habitus, mensque gratiosa;
 Nulla vos coinquinet labe criminosa.

14. Nullus fastus deprimat vestri signum vestis;
 Gravis in intuitu habitus sit testis;
 Nihil vos illaqueat curis inhonestis,
 Quibus claves traditæ sunt regni cœlestis.

15. Estote brevilinqui, ne vos ad reatum
 Protrahat loquacitas, nutrix vanitatum;
 Verbum quod proponitis, sit abbreviatum,
 Nam in multiloquio non deest peccatum.

16. Charitate fervidi, sobrii, prudentes,
 Justi, casti, simplices, pii, patientes,
 Hospitales, humiles, subditos docentes,
 Consolantes miseros, pravos corrigentes."

Of Walter de Mapes'¹ well known stanzas a version by the Rev. John Derby is printed in a periodical, entitled *The Crypt*, May, 1829, p. 218. The excellent one which here follows is taken from SALMAGUNDI,² *a Miscellaneous Combination of Original Poetry*, Lond. Bensley, 1791, 4to.

CANTILENA.

MIHI est propositum in tabernâ mori
 Vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
 Ut dicant, cùm venerint Angelorum chori:
 "Deus sit propitius huic Potatori!"

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna;
 Cor imbutum Nectare volat ad superna;
 Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in tabernâ
 Quàm quod aquâ miscuit præsulis Pincerna.

Suum cuique proprium dat Natura munus,
 Ego nunquam potui scribere jejunis:
 Me jejunum vincere posset puer unus,
 Sitim et jejunium odi tanquam funus.

¹ It is a pity that the archdeacon's works are not collected: the MSS. are not uncommon: one on paper exists in T. Gale's collection in the beautiful library of Trinity college, Cambridge: See *Wolfii Lect. Memorabilium Centen.* xvi. (1600-1608. H. fol.)

² Two *Epigrammata* are worthy to be extracted.

LONGA DIES IGITUR QUID CONTULIT?
 LONGA DIES igitur quid contulit, Optime, quæris?
 NOCTEM, ni fallor. contulit illa BREVEM.

EPITAPHIUM JUVENIS QUI PROPTER AMOREM "MOLLY
 STONE" MORTEM SIBI CONSCIVIT.
 MOLLY fuit Saxum; si Saxum MOLLE fuisset
 Non foret hic subitûs, sed superasset eam.

Tales versus facio quale vinum bibo,
Non possum scribere nisi sumpto cibo;
Nihil valet penitus quod jejunos scribo,
Nasonem post calices facile præibo.

Mihi nunquam spiritus prophetiæ datur
Nisi cum fuerit venter benè satur;
Cum in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur,
In me Phœbus irruit ac miranda fatur.

There are two kinds of translation ; that which trans-fuses the *spirit*, and that which represents the *letter*. Of the former most happy instances are the Aristophanes of the Right Hon. John Hookham Frere, Sir Francis Kynaston's Loves of Troilus and Cresside (of which the first two books were printed in 1635, and of which the remainder is hoped for from Mr. Singer's MS.) Townley's Hudibras, Archdeacon Wrangham's elegant *lusus*, this version of Mapes, and Sterne's (in his admirable tale of Slawkenbergius) of a passage in Erasmus' Colloquy DE CAPTANDIS SACERDOTIIS—Cocles. *Nihil me poenitet hujus nasi*—this nose has been the making of me: Pamphagus. *Nec est cur poeniteat*—how the deuce could such a nose fail! . . . For the second, Horace (*Ep. ad. Pisones* 133, 134) must have admired the felicitous rendering, betraying certainly nothing of Cervantes' "wrong side of the tapestry" . . . for who shall say which couplet is the right? . . .

Mittitur in disco, mihi piscis, ab archiepisco—

Po non ponatur, quia potus non mihi datur.

See here a fish, sent in a dish, from the archbish—

Hop is not here, for he gives me no beer.

But indeed this is rather an union of both kinds (and as such, perfect) than an instance of the second alone.

The curious reader may consult the last edition of Tytler's *Essay on Translation*.

DULCE DOMUM.³

“The *Dulce Domum* was written about 200 years since by a Winchester scholar, detained at the usual time of breaking up, and chained to a tree or pillar, for his offence to the master, when the other scholars had liberty to visit their respective homes while the breaking up lasted. Which confined scholar was so affected with grief, by being thus detained from seeing his dear home, and for the loss of his liberty, that he was passionately moved to write his distressful sentiments of anxiety, on finding himself deprived of the sight of his friends like the rest of his school companions: thus calling to mind the loss of all the beloved objects of his happiness, he died broken-hearted before his companions returned.

“In memory of this unhappy incident, the scholars of Winchester school, or college, attended by the master, chaplains, organist, and choristers, have an annual procession [round the courts, the evening preceding the Whitsun holidays, p. 209.] and walk round the pillar or tree three times, to which their fellow collegian was chained, before the procession ends, singing all the time.”

Extract in Gent. Mag. 1796, lxvi, p. 210.

“And see in durance the fast-fading boy

Midst Wykeham’s walls his dulcet sorrows heave;
Fled are his fairy dreams of homely joy.

³ The concord of these two words sorely perplexes respectable persons oblivious of a rule in the Eton Latin syntax: *Ad hunc modum utimur* DOMUS, &c. Indeed (DOMUM being without doubt an accusative) DULCE may prove no less refractory in case than in gender.

Ah! frowns too chilling, that his soul bereave
 Of all that frolic fancy long'd to weave
 In his paternal woods! His hands he wrings
 In anguish! Yet some balm his sorrows leave
 To soothe his fainting spirits, as he sings
 And suits to every sigh the sweetly warbling strings.

O! he had notch'd, unweeting of distress,
 The hours of schoolboy toil! Nor irksome flew
 The moments—for, each morn, his score was less!
 Visions of vacant home yet brighter grew;
 When, lo! stern fate obscur'd the blissful view:
 Droops his sick heart. And “ah! dear fields (he cries)
 Ye bloom no more! Dear native fields adieu.”
 “Home, charming home,” still pliantive echo sighs;
 And to his parting breath the dulcet murmur dies.”

From *The Influence of Domestic Attachment with respect to Home*, *ibid*, p. 368.

The air to *Dulce Domum* was composed by John Reading, in the reign of Charles II. (*Gent. Mag.* 1796, lxvi, p. 208.) It was published ‘with variations to the musick by a Mr. T. Field, at Lindley’s musick shop, No. 45, Holborn; and the same air, varied by S. C. Fischer, was adapted for the piano-forte by young Mr. Cramer, and set in a masterly and very pleasing manner.’ *Ibid*. 210.

“Concinamus, O sodales!
 Eja! quid silemus?
 Nobile canticum!
 Dulce melos, domum!
 Dulce domum, resonemus.

CHORUS.

Domum, domum, dulce domum !
Domum, domum, dulce domum !
Dulce, dulce, dulce domum !
Dulce domum, resonemus !

Appropinquat ecce ! felix
 Hora gaudiorum,
 Post grave tædium
 Advenit omnium
 Meta petita laborum.
Domum, domum, &c.

Musa ! libros mitte, fessa ;
 Mitte pensa dura,
 Mitte negotium,
 Jam datur otium,
 Me mea mittito cura,
Domum, domum, &c.

Ridet annus, prata rident,
 Nosque rideamus,
 Jam repetit domum,
 Daulias advena,⁴
 Nosque domum repetamus,
Domum, domum, &c.

Heus ! Rogere, fer caballos ;
 Eja, nunc camus,
 Limen amabile ?
 Matris et oscula,
 Suaviter et repetamus.
Domum, domum, &c.

⁴ Ovid. Heroid, xv, 154.

Concinamus ad Penates,
 Vox et audiatur;
 Phosphore ! quid jubar,
 Segnius emicans,
 Gaudia nostra moratur?"
Domum domum, &c.

Of the above lines the two annexed translations are from p. 209, of the same volume. (Gent. Mag. 1796.)

(I.)

"Imitated in English, so as to be sung to the same air.

"Let us all, my blythe companions,
 Join in mirthful, mirthful glee!
 Pleasant our subject!
 Sweet, oh! sweet our object!
 Home, sweet home, we soon shall see.

CHORUS.

*Home, the seat of joy and pleasure,
 Home, sweet home, inspires our lay!
 Welcome, freedom! Welcome, leisure!
 Every care be far away.*

Now the swallow, bird of summer,
 Seeks again her long-left home;
 See her nest preparing!
 We, my boys, shall share in
 The dear delights of home, sweet home.
Home, the seat, &c.

Swift as thought, ye generous coursers,
 Bear us to the wish'd-for end !
 To the fond caresses,
 The tender embraces,
 Of each lov'd and loving friend.
Home, the seat, &c. ' B. B."

(II.)

" Sing a sweet melodious measure,
 Waft enchanting lays around ;
 Home ! a theme replete with pleasure !
 Home ! a grateful theme, resound !

CHORUS.

*Home, sweet home ! an ample treasure !
 Home with every blessing crown'd !
 Home ! perpetual source of pleasure !
 Home ! a noble strain, resound !*

Lo ! the joyful hour advances ;
 Happy season of delight !
 Festal songs, and festal dances,
 All our tedious toil requite.

Leave, my weary'd Muse, thy learning,
 Leave thy task, so hard to bear ;
 Leave thy labour, ease returning,
 Leave my bosom, O ! my care.

See the year, the meadow, smiling !
 Let us then a smile display ;
 Rural sports, our pain beguiling,
 Rural pastimes call away.

Now the swallow seeks her dwelling,
 And no longer loves to roam ;
 Her example thus impelling,
 Let us seek our native home.

Let our men and steeds assemble,
 Panting for the wide campaign :
 Let the ground beneath us tremble
 While we scour along the plain.

Oh ! what raptures, oh ! what blisses,
 When we gain the lovely gate !
 Mother's arms, and mother's kisses,
 There our blest arrival wait.

Greet our household-gods with singing ;
 Lend, O Lucifer, thy ray ;
 Why should light, so slowly springing,
 All our promis'd joys delay ?

J. R. New Street, Hanover Square."

Two other, but inferior, versions are printed, *Gent. Mag.* 1811, lxxi, part 2, pp. 461, 503. A correspondent, signing himself PANEGNOPHILON, gives a more uproarious jubilation. *Gent. Mag.* 1796, p. 208 :

“ Omne bene
 Sine poenâ
 Tempus est ludendi:
 Venit hora,
 Absque morâ,
 Libros deponendi.

All's well my brave boys,
 Come let's make a noise,
 For we shall be beaten no more ;

The vacation is come,
 We will now return home.
 And fling all our books on the floor.
 My brave boys, &c."

The ensuing translation is taken from *Gent. Mag.* 1795, vol. lxy, part II, p. 1079, and 1796, vol. lxvi, p. 208.

CARMEN POPULARE ANGLICANUM,

"Domine, salvum fac regem ;"

Latine redditum.⁶

O vivas, omnibus
 Salvus ab hostibus,
 GEORGI, o rex !
 Tibi victoriam
 Deus, et gloriam,
 Det, et memoriam,
 Optime rex !
 Hostes, o Domine,
 Ut cadant omine
 Horrido, da :
 Præbe, cœlicolens
 Deus omnipotens,
 Atque omnisciens,
 Auxilia.

⁶ *God save the King* originally consisted of two stanzas written for James II, probably about the time of Monmouth's attempt. The third (ending with *heart and voice, God save the Queen*) is thought to have been added by the Whigs under Anne; and the remainder is yet more recent. Articles relative to the tune, &c. occur in *Gent. Mag.* 1786, vol. lxvi, pp. 118, 206, 208, and very probably elsewhere, but the subject has been pretty thoroughly discussed in the present century, in an octavo volume.

Fiat clarissimus

19. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The vacation is come,

"FREE IMITATION.

I'LL in a tavern end my days 'midst boon companions merry,
 Place at my lips a lusty flask replete with sparkling sherry,
 That angels hov'ring round may cry, when I lie dead as door-nail :
 " Rise, genial Deacon, rise and drink of the Well of Life Eternal."

'Tis Wine the fading lamp of life renews with fire celestial,
 And elevates the raptur'd sense above this globe terrestrial ;
 Be mine the grape's pure juice unmix'd with any base ingredient,
 Water to heretics I leave, sound churchmen have no need on't.

Various implements belong to ev'ry occupation ;
 Give me a haunch of venison,....and a fig for inspiration ! *
 Verses and odes without good cheer I never could indite 'em,
 Sure he who Meagre Days devis'd is d—— ad infinitum !

When I exhaust the bowl profound and gen'rous liquor swallow,
 Bright as the beverage I imbibe the gen'rous numbers follow ;
 Your sneaking water-drinkers all, I utterly condemn 'em,
 He that would write like Homer must drink like Agamemnon.

Mysteries and prophetic truths, I never could unfold 'em
 Without a flagon of good wine and a slice of cold ham ;
 But when I've drain'd my liquor out, and eat what's in the dish up,
 Tho' I am but an Arch-deacon, I can preach like an Archbishop."

[* This parodies Persius' Prologue: *Nec fonte labra protulit Caballino, s.c. Magister artis ingenique largitor, Venter*: (So Herrick, by Dr. Nott, N° clxxxvii.)
 —The third and fourth lines of the first of these quatrains must have been present to Mr. Canning's mind, in writing his *Lines on Mr. Whitbread's closing speech in Lord Melville's Trial*.]

Fiat clarissimus
 Et beatissimus
 GEORGIUS, rex ;
 Cujus iudicio,
 Cujus auspicio,
 Et beneficio,
 Floreat lex !

The pleasing harmony observable in the Latin verses of the middle ages, arises no doubt from their being composed to ecclesiastical chaunts. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, III, 664, shews that a vulgar *rhythmic*⁷ (not rhymed) poetry was known to the antients. Ælfric's Latin poetry, *Archæologia*, XVII. 292 and 195, is something between rhyme and his vernacular alliteration.

Maittaire, *Corpus Poet. Lat.* II, p. 1579, exhibits six stanzas, *e sancti Damasi, Pontificis Maximi, Sanctorum Elogiis*, having an unusual cadence which, in effect, resembles the ditty at Justice Inglewood's, "Good people all I pray give ear," *Rob Roy*, I. *ch.* viii.

The first of his Holiness' quatrains runs thus—

Martyris ecce diēs Agathæ
 Virginis émicat éximiæ
 Christus eam sibi qua sociat
 Et diadema duplex decorat.

On the subject of rhyme, which was unquestionably known before either the Goths extended themselves to the south of Europe, or the Saracens penetrated to the

⁷ Numerisque fertur Lege solutis. Hephæstion, quoted by Bentley (*Schediasma de Metris Terent.*) speaks of metre as subordinate to rhythm; and other grammarians concur: see Mr. Gaisford's *Hephæst.* pp. 137, 39, and compare *Quintil. Inst.* ix, 4.

west,—consult Gibbon, LVI, *note d*, Mr. Sh. Turner's papers in the *Archæologia*, XIV, *Pinkerton's Correspondence*, 1830, II. 69-99, and especially the *Foreign Review*, Jan. 1829, II. 57-73.

As regards the classic writers of antiquity, our wonder is not the occurrence of rhyme, but how they contrived to avoid with ease that which beset them on every side. A marked *homœoteuton*, in five consecutive lines, occurs *Aristoph. Nub.* 711-715; in Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, 99, 100, we find

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulci-a sunt,
Et, quocunque volent, animum auditoris agunt:

but, in citing *Eur. Med.* 46, 47, and *Æsch. Suppl.* 942-947 as instances, it is remarkable that the varied accents could escape the nice ear and accurate scholarship of Mr. Cary (*Pref. to Birds of Aristophanes*, xi, xii, 1824:) in the latter passage not more than a single couplet, 946, 947, can properly be said to rhyme.

To lay no stress upon *Quot cælum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas*, *Ov. A. A. I.* 59, .. the leonine verse, (so frequent in *Bede, Opera*, I. 485, &c.) is found

Æn. III. 549. Cornua velatarum obvertimus antennatum,
Mart. VII. xliii. Diligo præstantem; non odi, Cinna, negantem:

J. J. Oberlin's *Miscellanea Literaria*, Argent, 1770, qu. contain a *Rhythmologia Leonina*, è codice MSto.

THE END.

PRINTED BY JOSIAH FLETCHER, NORWICH.

In the Spring will be Published,

THE FOUR GOSPELS

AND THE

Acts of the Apostles,

IN A REVISED TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES.

*The profits being devoted to the Society for the
Propagation of the Gospel.*

A
FEW WORDS
ON
THE ATHANASIAN CREED,
ON
JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH,
AND ON
THE NINTH AND SEVENTEENTH ARTICLES
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY A BISHOP'S CHAPLAIN.

F. H. Marten

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Some portions of what is here offered, have already been seen in print; but, in compliance with intimations that their appearance in a separate and more accessible form might be desirable, they are republished with such changes and additions as may render them more generally interesting.

TO THE
REVEREND THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY LORD BAYNING,
WHOSE CHARACTER ADORNS HIS RANK AND
ILLUSTRATES HIS PROFESSION,
THESE FEW WORDS
ARE, WITH GREAT SINCERITY,
INSCRIBED.

Oct. 1841. }
Dec. 1845. }

*Vouchsafe, then, O Thou most Almighty Spright !
From whom all gifts of wit and knowledge flow,
To shed into my breast some sparkling light
Of Thine eternall truth, that I may shew
Some little beames to mortall eyes below
Of that immortal beautie, there with Thee,
Which in my weak distraughted mynd I see;*

*That with the glorie of so goodly sight
The hearts of men, which fondly here admyre
Faire-seeming shewes, and feed on vaine delight,
Transported with celestiall desyre
Of those faire formes, may lift themselves up hyer,
And learn to loue, with zealous humble dewty,
The Eternall Fountaine of that heavenly Beauty.*

SPENSER'S Hymne of Heavenly Beautie, 8-21. (1596.)

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

“A creed needs a Bible, to shew that it has something to rest upon; a Bible needs a creed, to shew that it has done what it proposed to do.” Mr. Maurice’s *Kingdom of Christ*, ii. 27. 1838. Compare letter XXXI. in Bishop Jebb’s *Life*, and a sermon by Bishop Cleaver, 1808.

As summaries of the sense in which we understand the leading elements of our religion, creeds are necessarily of human composition; but, where uniformity of sentiment prevails, comprehensive and pointed definitions excluding the possibility of misconception, and even professed explanations of a meaning which no one controverts, are not required. These only become necessary when heretics explain away what before was never doubted, and the extensions by more definite terms and distinctions originated not with the orthodox,—being not so much measures of faith as indices of the various heresies which from time to time have raised their heads⁽¹⁾; whence, though gifted with no power of salvation in themselves, they become essential to preserve the doctrines that will save⁽²⁾. The earnest wish that it were possible to dispense with them, is not confined to Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Horsley. (Serm. upon Luke i. 28.)

The briefest, and possibly the earliest, extant creed—*I believe in God: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*—is merely the recital of Matt. xxviii. 19⁽³⁾. This was soon expanded into twelve articles, which in the fifth century, if not before, either from their coincidence of number or from confounding *symbol* (σύμβολον) with *συμβολή*—a mistake not unlikely to have originated in the West—were sometimes idly fancied the respective *contribution* of the several Apostles⁽⁴⁾. The Creed, in some shape, must have preceded all the writings of the

New Testament; in delivering to new converts the breviatè of that doctrine, *quod quidem tunc præconiauerunt, postea vero, per Dei voluntatem, in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt.* (Irenæus, III. 1, 2, 3.) And the manifest accordance, in general substance, of the many separate Beliefs^(4a) transmitted to us, renders very probable—what indeed, had this been otherwise, would not be by any means devoid of credibility—that, at the first general diffusion of Christianity by authorised missionaries, the leading heads of doctrine to be enforced were settled by apostolic consultation^(4b), *ne forte alius ab alio abducti, diversum aliquid . . . exponerent*; and this in fact is the entire amount of the well-known passage of Rufinus, *de Symb. Apost.* § 2^(4c). How justly that creed bears its usual appellation, will be seen by comparing its several articles with the texts annexed^(4d). The Nicene council did not, like of Trent, impose additions of its own as terms of communion; and any simple-minded Christian who, at the bidding of the Bible, believes *that* there is but one God, *that* each of the three Persons is God, *that* the one of them is not the other⁽⁵⁾, and *that* our Saviour Christ is both God and Man⁽⁶⁾, . . . believes (however unconsciously) every thing in the Athanasian creed⁽⁷⁾, which by Luther was esteemed the breast-work of the Apostles'. (*velut propugnaculum.* *Luther de tribus Symbolis.*)

Gibbon has artfully endeavoured to entrap unreflecting readers, by representing the difference between orthodoxy and its opposite, to be “almost invisible to the nicest theological eye⁽⁸⁾.” But it may safely be affirmed, that no unsophisticated intellect will ever *liken* the Creator to His creature, however inconceivably exalted; the difference between **THEM** must be immeasurably more vast than that between the latter and ourselves; and if the Son be God, without “being of one substance (essence) with the Father,” we inevitably arrive at *two Gods*. St. Augustin makes the very striking observation, that Christ never says *Our Father*, but always either *your*, or *My*, or *the*⁽⁹⁾.

What is, in two respects, most rightly said to be “commonly called the creed of Saint Athanasius,” would have been heartily subscribed to by him⁽¹⁰⁾; and is not so properly a creed

—which appellation was given to it about the time of Hinemar, Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 852—as (after monition, or affirmation, of the importance of a right faith) an enlarged statement, showing how to avoid the reproach and embarrassment of any inconsistencies as regards two articles, . . . clauses 3-28 relating to the *Trinity*, clauses 29-42 to the *Incarnation*. Dr. Waterland, IV. 119-329, brings reasons for thinking it written between A.D. 426-430 (shortly after the Goths had conveyed Arianism^(10a) into the south and east of France), by Hilary, Bishop of Arles, who composed very probably our present Latin text; that the Greek is a version, is evident from the existence of a least four distinct forms in that language⁽¹¹⁾. Since 1689 what are usually called the damnatory clauses, 1 and 42, have always been understood as the concluding words of Mark xvi. 16: in clause 28, *must* ought to be *should*, or *let him*⁽¹²⁾; clauses 5-28 detailing reasons rendering it desirable neither to confound the persons nor divide the substance. “Gibberish” and “verbiage” may be quite as wittily charged against any proposition in Euclid; and Gibbon (*ch.* 37, *note* y = *note* 113) has withheld Gennadius’ deep interest in depreciating a creed, his acceptance of which would have endangered the distinctness of the church over which he presided, and consequently the independence of his own patriarchal character⁽¹³⁾. In clause 27, *as is aforesaid* refers to 3, . . . seeing that what is delivered respecting the Godhead and its several Persons, proves that a *Trinity in Unity* is to be worshipped; and in clause 42—where our Reformers studiously omitted *firmiterque*, so as to excuse the weak and condemn only the presumptuous—he *believes faithfully* who is sincerely influenced by his belief to lead a holy life.

In saying “since 1689^(12a),” I am not aware that even the composer himself understood it otherwise, or that our Church anywhere ‘pronounces the eternal perdition of all who do not recognise the Catholic faith⁽¹⁴⁾’. Her Eighteenth Article inculcates, in strict conformity with Holy Writ, that, if virtuous heathen⁽¹⁵⁾ are saved, it is for the merits of Christ’s propitiation and for none else. The same is declared in clause 1 of the Athanasian creed, where for *will* substitute *would*, . . . which

falls very short of the *EXTRA quam nemo salvus esse POTEST* in the creed of Pope Pius IV. 1564; but clauses 1 and 2 not only admit, but—since who can *keep* that which he never had even the opportunity to *hold*—necessarily must have, very distinct applications; “whosoever” being unexceptionably affirmed of mankind in general, “every one” of those alone who make the word of God square with their own lusts. (2 Thess. ii. 12.) It is perfectly conceivable that many who cannot be saved *in* Christ, are yet mercifully saved *through* Christ; and Christians should consider themselves not as the *sole objects* of the divine purpose, but as *alone gifted with a knowledge* of the counsels of Divine Love, . . . which if we follow not, our very wealth will but enhance our woe in proportion to the multitude of convictions stifled and of opportunities abused. In the words of a Latin father, *Non privatio* (ignorance) *damnat, sed contemptus*, . . . a far worthier doctrine than Calvin’s harsh determination, *extra Ecclesiæ gremium NULLA est speranda peccatorum remissio nec ULLA salus*, (*Inst.* iv. 1. 4,) and than the ruthless sentence of the creed propagated by Innocent III. in the first canon of the fourth Lateran, A.D. 1215—*Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, EXTRA QUAM NULLUS OMNINO SALVATUR*^(15a). The privilege of having “learned Christ” consists in this, that it assures to us “the MEANS of grace,” and “the HOPE of glory.” To expect everlasting happiness by simply professing Christianity, must be no less futile than thinking to escape eternal torment by being wrapped at death in a friar’s coat, “*which supersticion, although (thanks be to God) it hath been lytle vsed in this realme; yet in diuerse other realmes, it hath been, and yet is* (see *Edinb. Rev.* LXXXI. 427) *vsed emonge many, bothe learned and vnlearned*^(15b).” Against those who shall wilfully pervert or carelessly contemn, heavy and positive are the denunciations of Scripture; *aliud est enim nescisse, aliud scire noluisse*. (Augustin de Grat. et Lib. Arb. 3.) They who are ignorantly misled by others, and the very few who are *insuperably unable* to satisfy themselves, may be left, as may all cases wherein penalty is not expressly menaced, to be dealt with in God’s mercy as shall seem good unto Him. From their

fellow-men, the class last mentioned can deserve nothing but compassion: *they* seek not to unsettle the faith of others, nor is it from *them* that ribaldry and railing proceed. Moreover though *civilly* a man may be of any religion or none, he has no *moral* right to be of any he pleases; and that all religions are equally good, can no more be contended than that an act of parliament can make all equally true.

As including the ATONEMENT⁽¹⁶⁾, which no human wit could have invented, the Catholic⁽¹⁷⁾ doctrine of the Trinity is the very root of Christianity. As the prompt solution of various phænomena occurring in Scripture, its verity is evinced by its being harmonious and uncontradictory both as to the Bible and in itself. Of the particular exposition, defying all juggle of equivocation and evasion, which is the main subject of the present remarks, the value is proved by the fact that, in the many centuries since its original promulgation, neither addition nor alteration has been needed; and they, who shrink from its use, besides ignorance of history, either do not understand their own religion, or have some lurking inconsistency in their belief^(17a).

The difference of things *above* or *beyond*, from things *against* reason, is always forgotten or concealed by declaimers against the submission or prostration of reason. Yet, let us only repeat the words Reason, Revelation, and this is obviously inevitable. A man might as well make his own face the standard of ideal beauty, as his own mind the measure of Pure Reason. A Revelation just tallying with reason, *i.e.* with human reason, would be nugatory. Now mental strength, like bodily ability, varies in different individuals; one mind can wing a loftier and longer flight than can another: accordingly, a man must not conclude that what is dark to him, is so, in the same degree, to his neighbour . . . and this will preclude mischief from such declaimers; nor again, because a man sees from his own eminence much clearly mapped which those below cannot perceive, is he therefore entitled to suppose that others at a higher elevation have their ken limited by his horizon . . . and this will prevent all such declaiming. I do not fear to

assert, that the very criterion of a revealed religion is, . . . that it be level enough for those who go on foot, and yet baffle the most piercing and soaring; that it shall *always*, *i.e.* in every case and through all time, reward profitable enquiries; and *always*, *i.e.* in every case and through all time, discourage such as are presumptuous. "*For God receiveth the learned and vnlearned, & casteth awaie none, but it is indifferēt vnto all. And the scripture is ful, aswel of lowe valleis, plain waies, and easie for euery man to vse and to walke in; as alsoo of high hilles and mōtaines, which fewe men can ascende* (climb, 1549) *vnto* (¹⁹). Let no finite being vaunt reason's supremacy, till he can reconcile "perfect" JUSTICE with "perfect" MERCY; and let not any answer for the Infinite, till he can say that he fathoms and comprehends Infinity (¹⁹). Be it remembered that Revelation is equally revelation, whether it unveil all or part; nay, the mere intimation that an unsuspected mystery exists, is *pro tanto* revelation. The more ineffable the mystery, the more gradual must be its disclosure, . . . just as the couched eye is only by degrees admitted to the full light of day. Nevertheless, seeing "through a glass, darkly," is better than no sight at all; and the power of a daily increase in knowledge is vouchsafed us. In the present stage of being, however, it matters less to us what God is than what we are relatively to Him (²⁰); and to "know even as we are known," is reserved as one—and the choicest—of the incalculable gratifications in store for our hereafter (²¹). Meanwhile but for this exquisite nicety of adaptation, which I have just touched upon (cf. *Augustin Doctr. Christ. II. 6. al. 8*), God would respect persons; in as much as, were it otherwise, the strong and the learned would have advantage over the weak;—it transcends all human skill, and bears therefore its own certain and conclusive evidence of divine authority.

A more singular example *fumum vendendi*, or—to borrow an equivalent, though homelier, expression—of casting dust in people's eyes, than the article "Trinity" in Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia will not easily be discovered (²²). Dr. Priestley, writing (as his wont was) very inconsiderately, ventured to declare that even if it were revealed, he for one would not believe it, . . . "if

it [*the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity*] had been found there [*in the Scriptures*], it would have been impossible for a reasonable man to receive it, as it implies a contradiction which no miracles can prove." Priestley's *Early Opinions* (²³), *Introd.* § 4. It is needless to observe that as the doctrine, when rightly understood, does not . . . so, if it be found in Scripture, it CAN NOT . . . imply any real contradiction; and two circumstances are invincible: *that*, if it be a corruption, neither the place, nor the time, nor the author, of the innovation can be produced (²⁴); *that*, within a century of the Crucifixion, all the churches, of different countries, languages, and founders, are found at once in perfect unison (²⁵). On this point Hegesippus, whatever may have been his historical blunders, could not be mistaken (*Euseb. H. Eccl.* iv. 22); and in the simple yet forcible expression of Irenæus, αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι· ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. *Iren. Hæc.* I. x. 1, 2. *Is it likely*, asks Tertullian, *that so great and so many churches should have gone wrong in the same identical pattern? One uniform result never attends many accidents; [in that case therefore,] of necessity, the form of doctrine in these churches should have varied; but that which is identical among so many, came not by error, but by tradition.* Tertull. *Præscr.* § 28. Thus too St. Augustin, . . . *Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum, non nisi auctoritate Apostolicâ traditum rectissimè creditur.* (*Aug. de Bapt. contra Donatist.* IV. 24. *al.* 31.)—Let it be remarked in passing, that these two invincible circumstances tell with equal force in the argument for Episcopacy, so pithily stated by Chillingworth and in Hooker's *Pref.* IV. 1; the evidence for which is, to the full, as strong as that for the Canon of Scripture. Nor will any difficulty arise from conceding that, in the Christian Scriptures, neither Creed nor form of ecclesiastical polity is *in express terms* laid down. The discovery there of any such rigid definition, would very formidably embarrass our belief in their authenticity, addressed as they all were to people already freshly possessed of both. But when, for fifteen hundred years, we find every known church following one particular and identical scheme of

faith and government, with which too the casual intimations of the sacred writers are in unreluctant harmony, . . there is great, and even the greatest, reason to suppose that this must have been of apostolic institution.

Our own Church, whose especial characteristic is the most scrupulous moderation—not of compromise, trimming and paring here and there to please one class or another, but passing steadily onward with a full sense of her responsibilities; should she fall, the consequences will resemble what must ensue from withdrawing the atmospheric pressure (see Raleigh's *Hist. of the World*, II. 5. 1), and it requires no great foresight to perceive who will be the first temporal victims ⁽²⁶⁾; though she has little to dread from without, so long as she lays no foundation for schism within;—feels her strength upon the sure ground of Vincentius, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* ⁽²⁷⁾; the security of which was present to Athanasius in saying, that the true faith was called not of men, whereas each heresy and schism unblushingly branded its own falsehood by bearing name after its first inventor. *Athanas. orat. I. contra Arianos*, §§ 2, 3; compare *Lactant, Inst. Div.* iv. 30; *Vinc. Lirin.* 24; *Chrysost. Hom.* 33. in *Acta*, § 4. Thus it is accidental rather than of set design, that with Rome she maintains apostolic ordination and episcopacy ⁽²⁸⁾; with Luther, grace, free-will, and justification by faith; and that with Calvin she rejects as equally illegitimate both *trans* and (*con*) substantiation ⁽²⁹⁾.

“The doctrine of the Church of England, retaining all the tenets which have been represented as peculiarly characterising the Christian faith, is guarded against all the errors into which sectarians have been seduced by their neglect of some one of these principles. Maintaining the principle of the corruption of our nature, it is secured against the self-sufficiency of the Arians and Socinians, which degrades the character of Jesus Christ, and rejects the operation of the Holy Spirit. Maintaining, with the divine dignity of Christ, the indispensable and universal importance of the redemption which has been effected by the humiliation and suffering of such a Being, it is also secured against the enthusiasm which has filled Wesley and his

followers with the vain notion of religious perfection. Maintaining the necessity of personal holiness as an indispensable consequence of election ⁽³⁰⁾, it is equally secured against the error of the Calvinistic Methodists, which refers the whole work of salvation to a decree of God, not depending on any condition of obedience, and therefore not directing men to seek the assistance of the Holy Spirit. This threefold doctrine is consistent with the experience, the reason, and the moral feeling of mankind. It is consistent with experience in excluding, on the one part, the notion of the unimpaired purity of our nature, and on the other, that of its religious perfectibility here; and with our reason and moral feeling in excluding the notion of arbitrary decrees, which represents God as the author of sin, and distributes everlasting happiness and misery without any reference to innocence or guilt. It provides relief for the sinfulness of man by the atonement of Christ, and it vindicates the holiness of God by affording to man the sanctification of the Spirit. The ardour of a sectarian disposition finds in it no gratification, because it flatters neither the pride of philosophy, nor the enthusiasm of fanaticism. All is equable and harmonious, and its influence is orderly and tranquil, producing its religious effects without agitation and without disturbance, like the great movements of material nature, which are imperceptible to our senses, but discover themselves to our reason in all the varied glories of the universe ⁽³¹⁾.”

Our confession, our penance, and our absolution, differ widely from the same Romish offices ⁽³²⁾. Of *private confession*, two cases are alone contemplated—and of these, the conference advised in the first Exhortation to the Communion, hardly can be so termed—both altogether voluntary, and both presupposing a troubled conscience. No clergyman can impose *penance*, which is simply the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court, and inflicted, like any other punishment, for example's sake and for reformation of life; thus, having no reference to the Divine forgiveness of the sin for which it is enjoined, its commutation for money ⁽³³⁾ is only so far objectionable, as it does away with the benefit of open example. The *absolution* is solely

an authoritative declaration ⁽³⁴⁾ respecting which no human being, save the individual himself who has applied for it, can at all tell how far it shall be ratified. That the absolution in the Visitation Office, which requires very special circumstances, is no more than declaratory, and as such lies under the Tridentine anathema, is shown by the collect immediately subsequent; nor could the craziest high-churchman have been guilty of the extravagance and folly of asserting that "the priest represents God Himself in the tribunal"—afterwards altered into "has power [*qu. authority?*] from" &c.; nor does our church, like that of Rome, insist upon "a full and unequivocal declaration [*to the priest*] of all sins," and "taking at [*the priest's*] hand a certain penance to satisfy God's justice," . . . as indispensable conditions of "there obtaining from heaven, a pardon for offences against the God of heaven ⁽³⁵⁾." In *discipline*, it may be possible to effect some improvements; but they will require the very nicest and far-sighted judgment, for excess of strictness is more fatal than a too easy laxity ⁽³⁶⁾.

Here it may be advisable to bestow a word or two upon the sneers against "a church which, though not infallible, NEVER errs," . . . sneers which, were they only true, would be sufficiently warranted. (*Waterland*, V. 129. *Bishop Marsh's Compar. View*, 192. 264. 229. 1816.) That our Church DOES NOT err, is believed by every sincere churchman, knowing the safeguard of her Twentieth Article on the one hand, together with the absence of all proof on the other, and withal bearing in mind that, as expressed in Bishop Hall's concio at St. Paul's in 1623, *graviter certè errare non potest anima, vel ecclesia, quæ universalis veterisque Ecclesiæ vestigiis sollicitè insistit*. XI. 34. Oxf. 1839. In crossing Helvellyn*, aided by careful study of the

* I have since found an illustration very similar in Leslie, *Of Private Judgment in Matters of Faith*, § xvii.—Let me take this opportunity to commend an admirable sermon by Seed, on the Athanasian Creed, and Barrow's Latin tract, *De Tribus Symbolis*, VIII. 52 Oxf. 1830.

Guide-book and all the most respectable advisers, a man MAY deviate; yet, after fully weighing the probabilities on all sides, none but the most imbecile would lend an ear to those shouting on the right and on the left, that theirs was the safe track and all others perilous ⁽³⁷⁾.

NOTES.

(¹). Page 5. Bishop Pearce, Sermon upon John xviii. 38. remarks that the emergence of heresies made "men stick more closely to the truth than they probably would have done if no opposition had been made. So that disputes about the Christian religion seem to have contributed as much to the preserving it *pure*, as the constant motion of waters does to the keeping them *sweet*; and if so, that can be no argument against *believing Christianity*, which has been one great cause of continuing it a thing *worthy to be believed*." See Bishop Jebb's Pastoral Instructions, pages 16, 17. 324, 325. 1831; Dr. Reid in Dugald Stewart's Prel. Diss. to Eucycl. 221. 1835; and Waterland's Works, iv. 304.

(With pages 373–381 of Bishop Jebb, the reader may advantageously compare the more judicious and catholic suggestions of a letter in his Life, 24 Aug. 1804, and Dr. Johnson's anecdote of Mr. Nelson, in the *Adventurer*, No. 131.)

(²). Page 5. Augustin de Fid. et Symb. 1, and Archbishop Laurence's sermon on the Simplification of Public Creeds, 1816. See also Archbishop Ussher's sermon at Wanstead, 20 June, 1624.

(³). Page 5. Mr. Faber's Apostolicity, I. 183–189; compare Dr. Waterland's Works, V. 157–174; Dr. Randolph's Supplement, 67. 1775; Bishop Bull's Judic. IV. 3.

(⁴). Page 5. Bishop Beveridge* on the Thirty-nine Articles, under *Art. VIII*.

Like *déjeuner* in more recent times, the phrase *δειπνεῖν ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*, (Aul. Gell. VI. 13) might be current in the mouths of many who knew no other syllable of the language in which it was vernacular, and thus originate the erroneous derivation.

A passage of Leo I. Ep. 27. (*al.* 13) ad Pulcheriam, A. D. 449—*Ipsa catholici symboli brevis et perfecta confessio, quæ duodecim apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis* (*i.e.* the number of its articles being coequal with the number of the Apostles)—is curiously transformed by Hincmar of Rheims (*Opusc. contra Hincm. Laudunensem*, §. 24. *Opera II.* 474. 1645) into *symbolum . . . condiderunt, singuli singulas sententias proferentes*. And perhaps a like misconstruction of the passage

* Upon some articles (*e. gr.* III. XVIII.) the Bishop—whose treatise appeared for the first time complete, Oxf. 1840—is less satisfactory than on the rest. His indiscriminate citation of suspected works, might easily be remedied hereafter by [brackets], as in Dr. Burton's valuable editions of Pearson and Bull.

(or of Rufinus' words, *conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque*, . . . inaccurately translated *each one contributing his sentence* in Bingham, X. 3. 5, if by "sentence" he means—not judgment, but—clause), may have occasioned an ascription of each clause to its individual author. The varied exercises of ingenuity, if indeed it can be said to deserve the name, by which this was done, are seen in two spurious sermons, 240 (*de Symb. II.*) and 241 (*de Symb. V. Olim 115 de Tempore, et post in Appendice 42.*) in Appendix* to vol. V. of the Benedictine Augustin; in the *Libellus de Libris Canoniceis* by Pirminius† (circa A. D. 758), apud Mabillon's *Analecta*, 66. 1723; in Durandus IV. cap. *de Symb.*; in Floretus apud Fabricium‡; in Scotus, dist. 25. in 31. *Sententiar. qu. l.*; in Valla's *Antidot.* in Poggium IV. 223; and near the end of the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* apud Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.* I. 396. 1724.

Still, however, no implicit deference was yielded to the tale. Durandus himself, in *III. Sententiar. dist. 25. qu. 2. n. 9*, treats it with contempt; the *Sacr. Gallic.* (remembering possibly the language of Leo and Rufinus) subjoins *hoc est quod ad duodecinarium numerum Apostolorum cum magnâ cautelâ collectum est et credentibus assignatum*; and the *Serm. de Symbolo* by Ivo of Chartres, who died early in the twelfth century, goes no further than *Apostoli certam fidei regulam tradiderunt, quam secundum numerum Apostolicum duodecim sententiis comprehensam, Symbolum vocaverunt*.

(^{4a}) Page 6. This accordance becomes more striking when we remember that it was preserved *memoriter*, scruples being felt as to committing it to writing. *Symbolum fidei et spei nostre quod ab Apostolis traditum non scribitur in chartâ et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus*. Jer. xxxi. 33; Hieron. Epist. 61 (*al.* 38). §. 9 ad Panmachum (otherwise entitled *Liber contra Joann. Hieros.* §. 28.) Sozomen. I. 20.—Bingham X. 5. 10.

* Serm. 242 (*de Symb. VI. Olim 131 de Tempore*) of this Appendix—which borrows its conclusion from the genuine 212 (*In traditione Symboli I. Olim 75 de Diversis*)—occurs again, only with its patches differently pieced (*olim 181 de Tempore, et post in Appendice 59*), in Appendix to vol. VI. p. 277. See also the spurious *lib. II. de Symbolo*. The first tract (*de Symb. ad Catechumenos*) in vol. VI. is genuine.

† Pirminius agrees with *Sacr. Gallic.* except that, possibly by a blunder of transcription, he assigns two articles to St. Thomas, and omits St. Matthias at the last.—The panels at the lower part of the chancel-screen in many of our churches, on their western face, often exhibit the twelve Apostles, each with his schedule bearing a sentence of the Creed. The figures are usually so much defaced, that perhaps it is now impossible to ascertain whether they always give the same order. The fiction is found in some MSS. of Wiclif's *Pore Caitiff*; see Waterland's second letter to Lewis.

‡ Fabricii *Codex Apocr. N. T.* III. 339—361—364. 1743, where extracts are given from most of those here cited.

Numerous creeds are collected in Bingham, X. 4, and the *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus* of Walchius, Lemgovix, 1770 ; some heretical creeds are given in Zornius, *Opusc. Sacra*, Altonæ, 1743. II. duod.

Two public forms claim a very high antiquity : the *one*, called by us the Apostles', being in fact the carefully preserved baptismal form of the old Roman church, and shorter than most, for the honourable reason that as yet no heresy had ever there originated *, . . . the *other*, that of the Church of Jerusalem, in the Catechetical Discourses of Cyril Hieros. V.—XVIII.

Our Common Prayer retains both the Apostles' and the Nicene, as severally representing the two-fold attestation of the Western and the Eastern Church to the one catholic faith. See p. 70 of Appendix to Archdeacon Manning's Sermon, 1839.

(^{4b}). Page 6. Bishop Cleaver, p. 130, remarks that in Eph. iv. 5, 6, "we may obviously recognise, though in an inverted order, the leading articles of all subsequent creeds." See also 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4 ; Heb. vi. 1, 2 ; 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; Rom. vi. 17 ; . . . 2 Tim. i. 13.

Grabe holds that (excepting the descent into Hell—which, however, may be much more ancient than he inclines to think, see (⁹))—and the Communion of Saints, added in the fourth century, in explanation of the "Catholic Church," and against the Donatists), the whole of our Apostles' Creed was used in the very earliest times. §. 12 of Grabe's *Annotata* annexed to ch. vi. of Bp. Bull's *Judic. Eccl. Cath.*

(^{4c}). Page 6. *Omnes ergo [Apostoli] . . . prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt, atque hanc credentibus dandum esse regulam statuunt. Symbolum autem hoc multis et justissimis ex causis, appellare decreverunt. Rufini Expos. Symb. Apost. §. 2.*—In §. 18 (*al.* 20), Rufinus uses a less determinate expression, *qui symbolum tradiderunt*.

A sermon *de Jejuniis* (assigned by the Benedictines to Cæsarius or Maximus, and printed as Serm. 33 of the Appendix to their Ambrose) says, §. 6, *velut periti artifices in unum convenientes, clavem suo consilio conflaverunt*.

(^{4d}). Page 6. The best explications are, that in the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, 1543 (*Formul. of Faith*, Oxford, 1825), Barrow's, and Bishop Pearson's ; the last was judiciously adapted to popular use in Dr. Bishop's *Abridgement*, 1729, and there is an useful Analysis by

* Rufinus *Expos. Symb. §. 3.*—*Credatur symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat.* Ambros. *Epist. 42. §. 5.* ad Siricum Episc. Rom. A.D.* 389.

Dr. W. H. Mill, chaplain to His Grace the Primate, 1843. The critical history will be found in [Lord Chancellor King's] very interesting *History of the, &c.* 1719; Grabe's *Annotata* already referred to; Ittigius *Selecta Capp. II. Eccl. sæc. I. cap. 3. sect. 1. §. 14. page 97*, 1709; and Vossius, in vol. VI. of his Works, Amst. 1701. The several heresies, at which in Basnage's (*Exercitatt. ad Baron.*) opinion, its language was directed, are noted in Bingham, X. 3. 7.

In the following table the (parentheses) pertain more especially to the Nicene Creed, which has been illustrated by Suicer, *Trajecti*, 1718. qu. and Wheatley's *Moyer Lectures*, 1738. oct. The numbered partitions are those which are now generally received; Erasmus (*ad Censuram Facult. Paris. tit. XI. decl. 36. Opera IX. 870*, ed. Clerici), for some reason or other, inclined to prefer fourteen.

I. Acts xvii. 24; xiv. 15; iv. 24.

II. And in (one Lord, 1 John iv. 9; John i. 3; Heb. i. 2; Col. i. 16. "Very God," *Θεὸν ἰληθινόν*, sometimes expressed by *Ἀυτόθεον* (i. e. *ἐν αὐτῷ Θεόν*) cf. Bingham, X. 4. 7) of which Bishop Beveridge gives examples in his note o. upon Art. II. The Arians* said *ex*, not *de*; Phoebadius, i. e. [Ambros.] *de Fide Orthod.* 3, or [Greg. Naz.] *Orat. 49. §. 7.* Justin Martyr purposely says, *ὁπὸ*—not *ὑπὸ*—*τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθεῖς*. Dial. 61. "Begotten," Bp. Pearson, II. e. "By whom," like the other relatives, belongs to "only Son;" the *colon* standing where it does, to distinguish that which is proper to the Deity, from that which concerns the complex Theanthrope). "Jesus," Acts viii. 37.

III. Who (Luke i. 35); Gal. iv. 4; Acts i. 14.

IV. Suffered (And was crucified). Acts xxvi. 22, 23; ii. 23. 31; iii. 13; iv. 27.

V. He descended (And the third). Acts ii. 27. 31, 32. 34.

VI. He (And) ascended. Acts ii. 34; iii. 15; iv. 33; iii. 13. 21; v. 41. Luke xxii. 69; Heb. i. 3.

* The endless prevarications of Arianism, are read with something between pity and contempt. To impose upon the ignorant they held a council at *Nice in Thrace*, A. D. 359. Sozomen IV. 18. The Arian Philostorgius (to whom we owe the story, contradicted by the discovery of the books themselves, that Ulphilas omitted Kings from his translation, as too warlike) would insinuate that Flavianus of Antioch first insisted upon the orthodox doxology to *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. Philostorg. III. 13. edit. Gothofred. Genev. 1843. Leontius, the former bishop, so mumbled the words, that no one could positively state what form he used. Theodoret II. 24. Niceph. IX. 24. Sozomen III. 19. IV. 27. Among their subtuges were, "through the Son in the Holy Ghost;" "and Son in the Holy Ghost;" "in Son and Holy Ghost." Once, when Deuterius, one of their prelates, was baptizing with the first of these devices, at Constantinople, we are told that the indignant water hurried from the font, and we may accept the fact without giving sanction to a miracle. Theodorus Lect. II. 25; Randolph's Suppl. 93. 1775. Basil Epist. 125 (*al.* 98) de Sp. Sanct. 7. 25. 27. 29. Antiquity was confessedly against them, Socrat. V. 10. Sozomen VII. 12. Theodoret I. 4.

VII. From thence (And) he shall come. Acts iii. 13. 20; x. 42; xvii. 31; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 5. ("No end," against Marcellus, Bp. Pearson, VI. g.* Isa. ix. 7; Dan. vii. 13, 14; Luke i. 33; Heb. i. 8.)

VIII. (And) I believe. Acts ii. 33; v. 32; John xiv. 16. (There should be a pause after "Lord," = the Lord and the Life-giver, Rom. viii. 10, 11; 1 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. xxii. 1—4; "together," Matt. xxviii. 19; "spake," some contended that the Old Testament was not inspired by the God of the New. Acts i. 16; 1 Pet. i. 10, 11; 2 Pet. i. 21.)

IX. Catholic Church. Acts xx. 28; ii. 39. 42; i. 8; iii. 25.

X. Forgiveness. (Eph. iv. 5.) Acts ii. 38; v. 31.

XI. Resurrection. Acts xvii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 42; 2 Cor. i. 9.

XII. Life to come. (Luke xviii. 30.) Acts xiii. 46.

The Nicene Creed, as now used, was completed at the Council of Constantinople, in 381. The fathers at Nice, in 325, ended with "in the Holy Ghost," sufficiently shewing how far they were compelled to make the Creed more explicit against nascent error. That they did not mean there to terminate the Creed, is shewn by Bishop Bull, Judic. vi. 7.

(⁵). Page 6. While (Athanasian Creed, clause 5) the three names imply three distinct gradational Persons mutually related each to other and severally distinguished by their manner of subsistence, Phœbad. i.e. [Ambros.] de Fide Orthod. *præf.* or [Greg. Naz.] Orat. 49. §. 3; still (clause 7) in point of Godhead all are co-equal and co-eternal; . . . the Father having (clause 21) the prerogative of underived subsistence, but (clause 25) no superiority of time or power. In a word, there is *gradation* but no *priority*. The term *œconomy*, which in Eph. i. 10 denotes the whole scheme for our Redemption, was soon used to express the Incarnation, the Passion, &c., and also the subsistence of the Divine Persons, in mutual relation (Paternity, Filiation, Procession), personal subordination (as 1st, 2nd, 3rd)*, and official character (as Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier).—The Son's eternity was illustrated by the early Christians from the sun and its rays (compare Heb. i. 3), it being impossible to imagine the one existing without the other.

See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. V. 51; sections ix. and xv. of Archbishop Wake's Catechism; and Jones of Nayland's tract, the *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*; together with Bp. Stillingfleet's Second Dialogue, and Bp. Gastrell's Considerations, in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, 1825.

* Waterland, IV. 39. Dr. Randolph's Letter to the Remarker, 170. 1777.—*Opera divinitatis externa sunt communia, servatâ cujusque personæ proprietate.* Strigelius ad Joann. v. 17: compare Bishop Sanderson's sermon (ad Clerum iii.) upon 1 Cor. xii. 7, §. 6. and Dr. Hey, IV. v. §. 14,

(⁶). Page 6. Clause 32 of the Creed must be read without any pause at *Man*, the (:) being inserted merely to guide the chaunt; and with a pause after *flesh*, for *subsisting* (i. e. not “consisting;” but = *ὑφ’εστῶς*, having a real and substantial existence) must be taken by itself. Vincent. Lirin. 14.

(⁷). Page 6. Waterland, v. 345. iii. 412. iv. 304.

(⁸). Page 6. Gibbon’s Hist. ch. 21. note 154.—It is as great as that between *Deiformity*, *deformity*, *Lord* and *laird*, *feast* and *fast*, *unite* and *untie*; to the ear it is greater than that between *best* and *pest*.

(⁹). Page 6. Aug. Tract. 21. in Joann.—Clause 22, like the second article of the Nicene Creed (ending with *were made*), relates solely to our Lord’s *divine* nature. So too clauses 12–15 of the magnificent *Te Deum*, another illustrious monument of the Gallican church. In the second *Lord have mercy upon us*, the Latin church substituted *Christ*, to render more obvious the invocation of the Trinity, and also the Redeemer’s two natures.

The Virgin, although *Θεοτόκος* (*Deipara*), is not *μήτηρ Θεότητος*; and, as the Divine Nature is without mother, so is the Humanity without a father, . . . His formation, of the Virgin’s substance (Gal. iv. 4), being no less preternatural than that of Adam’s wife.

Properly speaking, *Jesus* is the name of the *man*; *Christ* or *Messiah*, of the *office*; and the *Word* designates the *Eternal Sonship*. From St. John’s saying, in opposition to the Gnostics, that the “Word was made *flesh*” (John i. 14), the younger Apollinaris, A.D. 370, thought fit to deny our Lord a reasonable human soul (Bishop Pearson, V. o², p²): and the article of the Creed which asserts the Descent into Hell*,

* The original meaning of our English word, corresponds exactly with the Greek *Hades*, as denoting the invisible state of departed spirits, in which, for the present, they continue either in peaceful enjoyment or gloomy duress; awaiting that final consummation of their lot, which shall be ratified before the assembled universe at the great day of doom.

Its derivation is from the Anglo-Saxon “*helan*,” to cover. When Douglas surprised Roxburghe Castle,

With blak frogis (*frocks*) all *helyt* thai
The armowris that thai on thaim had.

Barbour’s *Bruce*, VII. 676. edit. Jamieson.

As snowgh lygges on the mountaynes,
Behelyd were hylles and playnes
With hawberk bryghte and helmes clere.

Richard Coer de Lion, 5585–7.

A tiler is yet called a *hellier* in some parts of England; and I have accident-

affirms that His death was real, and not any species of trance or deliquium ; His soul passing to Paradise, until his resurrection. Luke, xxiii. 43, and John, xx. 17. (The article was probably introduced originally against earlier heretics, who thought that their souls at death passed instantly beyond heaven. Irenæus, v. 31. 1 ; Justin Mart. Dial. 80 ; Tertull. Scorpiace, 10 ; de Animâ, 55.)

The word Θεοσόκος was adopted by the church to secure the recognition of our Lord's two natures, and as signifying that His assumed Human nature never subsisted separately from his Divine. Evagrius, H. Eccl. I. 2 ; Bishop Pearson, III. n³. o³ ; Cyril Alex. Epist. Synod. ad Nestorium, §. 13. apud Routh's Opusc. II. 29. 198. 1840.

"In addition to all the characters of Hebrew Monotheism, there exists in the doctrine of the Cross a peculiar and inexhaustible treasure for the affectionate feelings. The idea of the Θεάνθρωπος*, the God whose goings forth have been from everlasting, yet visible to men for their redemption as an earthly, temporal creature, living, acting, and suffering among themselves, then (which is yet more important) transferring to the unseen place of his spiritual agency the same humanity he wore on earth, so that the lapse of generations can in no way affect the conception of his identity ; this is the most powerful thought that ever addressed itself to a human imagination. - - Here was solved at once the great problem which so long had distressed the teachers of mankind, how to make virtue the object of passion, and to secure at once the warmest enthusiasm in the heart with the clearest perception of right and wrong in the understanding. The character of the blessed Founder of our faith became an abstract of morality to determine the judgment, while at the same time it remained personal, and liable to love." [Arthur H. Hallam's] Remarks on Prof. Rosetti, 53. 1832.

(¹⁰). Page 6. The title *Fides Athanasii*, which it not improbably bore from the beginning, intimated its uncompromising hostility to Arian and other error, in accordance with various treatises of that distinguished prelate, . . and not its being a composition of his own. See Waterland, ch. 8. §. 2.

ally stumbled upon "*I healed the body up*" in the confession of Holloway, at Brighton, 3 Sept. 1831. In 1 Cor. xi. Wielif uses *hile*, *hild*, *hilyng*. In Mr. Southey's edition of Sir Thomas Mallory's *Morte de Arthur*, first printed by Caxton 1485, we find *ouerhyllled*, *hyllled ouer*, *vnhyllled*. Vol. ii. pp. 33. 101. 235 ; and a friend suggests that "helan" is cognate with *hēhlen* to conceal, and *hylle* with *hūellen* to wrap. The LXX. studiously represent the Hebrew *Sheol* by Hades ; and it is observable that the Edda always discriminates *Hiel* from *Niflheim*.

* It may be seen in Suiccr's Thesaurus, that *Theanthrope* was at one time objected to, lest it should countenance the Eutychian fusion of the Natures.

After its reception by all branches of the Reformation, some, whose names may be seen in Dean Comber's Companion to the Temple, affected to call it the Creed of Sathanasius.

The cavil which has been raised against *as Saint Augustine saith*, in Art. XXIX., is answered by *as Hierome saith*, in Art. VI. which gives the *sense*, and not the *words*, of Jerome.

(^{10a}). Page 7. The Goths had exchanged orthodoxy for Arianism as a consequence, or more probably as the price, of obtaining from Valens leave to cross the Danube when driven onward by the terrible Huns. Sozomen, II. 6, VI. 37; Theodoret, IV. 37.

(¹¹). Page 7. In clause 9, *incomprehensible* (equivalent to *uncircumscribed*, i.e. ἀπερίγραπτος) is severally rendered by them, ἀκατάληπτος—ἄμετρος—ἄπειρος, . . . the Latin text has *immensus*. The compilers of our Liturgy seem to have consulted the first-mentioned of these Greek translations. Hermes Trismegistus likened God's omnipresence to a circle, of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference nowhere. It may be proper to add, that the alterations of the English which follow, are exactly warranted by the Latin*.

In clause 2, *whole* and *undefiled* imply two opposite corruptions; the first by diminishing therefrom, the second by adding thereto. Deut. iv. 2. xiii. 32. Thus—"nother by addicions, nother by diminucions," in the Commons' Petition to Henry V. 1414; Rolls of Parliament, IV. 22.

(¹²). Page 7. "When the enforcement of the importance of the catholic faith is to be expressed, no language can be too strong, because in that case our Saviour himself has pronounced the sentence of condemnation against unbelievers; but when, as in clause 28, the object is to claim attention to the details of a human exposition, a simple, though

* The primary Greek texts are—

1. Printed by Bryling, at Basle, between 1540-1548.
2. The Constantinopolitan, by Genebrard, 1569.
3. The Palatine, by Felekman in the Commeline Athanasius, 1600.
4. One printed by Archbishop Ussher, 1647. VII. 297. edit. Elrington.

The principal authorities, in addition to Dr. Waterland, are pp. 68-80. of Gundlingii Notæ in Eustrat. John Zialowski Delineationem Eccl. Græcæ, 1681; Montfaucon, in the Benedictine Athanasius, III. 719; and Blanchini's Enarratio pseud-Athanasiana, printed with the Sixth Book of Vigilii Tapsitanus, Veronæ 1732. qu. Mr. Radcliffe published a very useful illustration, Lond. 1844. oct.

In Waterland IV. 207, 208. for *Wotton* read *Hickes*, who (Birch's Gen. Diet. 1734, art. *Wotton*, note II.) was the friend who contributed the notes and appendix to *Wotton's Conspectus*, 1708. duod. (pp. 143. 146. of Shelton's translation, 2nd edit. 1737. qu.)

a serious, admonition is all which can be admitted." (Dr. Geo. Miller's Obs. 166-171. 1825.)

(¹³). Page 7. Clause 23 employs the Procession in proof—not of Deity, which has been already asserted in clauses 6-19, and which may be established *aliundè*, Athanas. Epist. I. ad Serap. §. 17, but—*of distinction* from the two *other Persons*. The Greek church holds the *doctrine*; but its denial of the particular *expression*, afforded a pretext for a separation really occasioned by the jealousy which the Greek patriarch entertained of the pretensions of the Roman see. Consult Article VIII. (*between notes m² and r²*) in Bishop Pearson's great work on the Creed; Mr. Faber's Apostolicity, I. lviii. 1832; and No. III. of the Appendix to Bennet's Paraphrase of the C. P., 2nd edit. 1709. Dr. Bennet (see Waterland, II. 310) urges that clause 23 does not determine whether the Procession of which it speaks, be *temporal*, or *eternal*, or *both*; and that Augustin (who, de Trin. XV. 26. *al.* 47, asserts the *second*) in V. 14, concurs with Athanasius (*Epist. I. ad Serap. §. 20*) in construing John xv. 26 of the *first*.

(^{13a}). Page 7. See Waterland, IV. 305. Alteration of the rubric would, in effect, have admitted that the harsher interpretation had been previously current.—Cf. Waterland, II. 320.

(¹⁴). Page 7. Gibbon's inuendoes (ch. 54 and ch. 60) are levelled against the monitory clauses of the Athanasian Creed; but in ch. 16. note 70, like the following passage from Hume's History, he assails, and with as little reason, our Eighteenth Article: "*Care is taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.*" (Hume's Hist. ch. 35. A.D. 1551*.) I will merely mention that, in this article, *by the law* means *for the sake of* (see John xiv. 6 and the Thirty-first Article); the Latin text has *in lege*, . . . and in Acts iv. 12, *ἐν ᾧ* is rendered *whereby*. Bishop Horsley once quoted in the House of Lords, 31 May 1791, the celebrated passage from Erasmus' dedication to the Tusc. Disp. of Cicero†. See also the British Critic, III. 326-363. 1828. and Dr. Hey, IV. 18. §§ 9, 10. 1822, and Dr. Barrow's Serm. on *Universal Redemption*.

* Hume's assertion is gravely repeated in Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, by G. L. Craik and C. Macfarlan.

† "My Lords, I believe your Lordships all believe that there is no name under heaven by which men may be saved but the name of Jesus Christ: nevertheless, I

(¹⁵). Page 7. The Duc de Chaulnes remarked to Dr. Johnson, that the morality of the different religions existing in the world was nearly the same. . . . "But you must acknowledge, my Lord, that the Christian religion alone puts it upon its proper basis, the fear and love of God." (Seward's Anecdotes, 1798.) The duke's own notions of honour and morality may be seen in Quart. Rev. XIX. 391.—The virtue of paganism is *morality*, the virtue of Christianity is *holiness*. See Bishop Horsley's Charges, 28. 1813.

(^{15a}). Page 8. *Concilia Maxima*, xi. 143 of Labbe, 1671; xxii. 981 of Mansi, 1778. The impossibility of assenting to this dogma led Dr. Phelan from the church of Rome. Phelan's Remains I. 11. 1832. Even the Westminster Confession, with unwonted moderation, says no more than . . . "The visible Church—out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation." Ch. xxv. 2nd edit. 1658. qu.

Again, while our catechism declares baptism "*generally necessary to salvation*," i. e. not absolutely, but (as explained in the Office for Those of Riper Years) "*where it may be had*," thus passing no sentence upon such as, without wilful omission are unbaptised—the *Catechismus Romanus* hesitates not to affirm "*omnibus hominibus baptismi legem à Domino præscriptam esse, ita ut, nisi per baptismi gratiam Deo renascuntur, INSEMPITERNAM MISERIAM ET INTERITUM A PARENTIBUS, SIVE ILLI FIDELES SIVE INFIDELES SINT, PROCREANTUR*." Part II. §. xxx.*

should be very unwilling to assert—my Lords, I would refuse to swear—that it is matter of my belief that such men as Socrates, Plato, Tully, Seneca, and Marcus Antoninus, who were every one of them idolaters, are now suffering in the place of torment, and are doomed to suffer there to all eternity. My Lords, upon this point I concur in the sentiments of a great ornament of the Roman church, who might have been an ornament to the purest church in the most enlightened times: *Ubi nunc anima Marci Tullii agat, fortasse non est humani judicii pronuntiare! me certè non admodum aversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos summâ pace frui.*" The words in Erasmus are *quietam vitam agere*. Epist. 499 (of the undated), circa A.D. 1529.

"Cicero, a wise and diligent man, suffered and performed much; I hope (said Luther) God will be merciful unto him, and to such as hee was, howsoever it is not our dutie to speak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the Word revealed unto us. Yet, nevertheless, God is able to dispense and to hold a difference among the nations and heathen, but our dutie is not to know nor to search after time and measure." Luther's Table Talk, by Bell, ch. 73. p. 509, 1652. The story in John of Salisbury (Polyeraticus V. 3. Lugd. Bat. 1639, oct. and Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit, ch. 7. note 175. alluded to by Dante, Purg. X. 73. Parad. XX. 45), that Gregory the Great prayed in behalf of Trajan, is scouted by modern Romanists.

* In the text to which the above note belongs, I fancied that I gave the words as well as the sentiment of St. Bernard, who (Tract. de Bapt. II. 7) quotes Am-

(^{15b}). Page 9. Homily of Good Workes, pt. iii. p. 50, 1840. Par. Lost, III. 478. See [Bishop Patrick's] *Reflections upon the Devotions of the Roman Church*, 257—260, 2nd edit., enlarged, 1686, oct. This work, first published in 1674, must not be confounded with [Dean Stanley's] Discourse conc. the Devotions of the Ch. of Rome as compared with those of the Ch. of England, 1685. qu., or in the *Enchiridion Anti-romanum*, III. Oxf. 1837.

(¹⁵). Page 9. "In support of the doctrine of the Atonement, there is more authority than for any other revealed in the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. It was taught in the beginning of the patriarchal dispensation, the first after the fall, in the words of the promise, and in the institution of sacrifices. It is enforced by the uniform concurrent testimony of the types, prophecies, opinions, customs, and traditions of the Jewish church. It is the peculiar foundation and principal doctrine of the Christian church in all ages, which has never deviated from the opinion that the death of Christ on the cross was the *full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world.*" (Mr. Canon Townsend.) See the sub-notes to Luke xviii. 14 and John xiii. 1, in Notes on the Gospels and Acts, 1838, duod.; Mr. Veysie's Bampton Lectures; Faber's Apostol. II. 379; *Outram de Sacrificiis*, 1677 (translated by Allen, 1828); and Abp. Magee, 1842.

(¹⁷). Page 9. In speaking of the traditions, or the adherents, of the modern church of Rome (and it is never to be forgotten that of all the branches of the Reformation, our own church is the only one that can rebut—by retorting—the charge of novelty), the distinction between Catholic and Roman-catholic is of extreme importance, and should be ever observed. Two very opposite parties are alike anxious to obliterate it.

The opposition (in clauses 19, 20) of "Christian verity" and "Catholic religion," appears to be that while the former depends more especially on the *New Testament*, the latter is designed to embrace the whole tenour of Revelation as conveyed in *both Covenants*; compare Dante's confession of faith, at the end of the *Paradiso* XXIV.—As contra-distinguished from the Jewish, which was limited to a single people, the Christian church is *catholic*, being to include all nations; and those *doctrines* alone are *catholic*, which can plead universal consent from the beginning. By the "one catholic and apostolic church" of the Nicene Creed, provision is made for both these applications of the term.

bros. de Obitu Valentiniani, 51. seqq. and *cum* - - - *non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis* from Augustin de Bapt. contra Donatist. IV. 22 (*al.* 29).

(^{17a}). Page 9. The formal disuse of the Athanasian Creed “would be made a cause of *triumph* to those who have gained *no victory*; and a great cause of *distrust* to those who, having *never been deceived*, may not, without great hazard to themselves, and great detriment to the *cause of truth*, be encouraged to entertain suspicions of it.” Dr. Nares’ Bampton Lectures, VII. *note* 7. Certainly it is a rather lavish assumption, that all “weak brethren,” and all “tender consciences,” are on one and the same side.

(¹⁸). Page 10. *A Fruitfull Exhortation to the Readyng and Knowledge of Holy Scripture*, pt. ii. page 7; see also pt. i. page 3. It is the first homily of the First Book, Oxf. 1840. *Quasi quidam quippe est fluvius, ut ita dixerim planus et altus, in quo et agnus ambulet et elephas natet.* Greg. Magn. in Job. præf. §. 4.

(¹⁹). Page 10. “It is the not properly considering the extent of our capacity, the not clearly distinguishing the things to which our ideas are suited, from those to which they are inadequate, that has made many men fall into an irksome scepticism, some into actual infidelity, and a few into the madness of atheism.” (Bishop Watson’s Sermon upon Col. ii. 8.)

(²⁰). Page 10. Dr. Miller’s correction of Gibbon’s adoption (*ch.* 21. *note* L = *note* 34) of Bayle’s sneer at Tertullian’s Apology, §. 46, is unnoticed by Mr. Milman, whose *text* of Gibbon (it may be hoped) will be less incorrect in his second edition, and who would have done well in presenting to his readers the whole of Lord Haile’s corrections, 1808. The meanest Christian, who has ever attended to religious instruction, must possess “more information concerning the relations connecting the Deity with his creatures, than the most penetrating genius, not assisted by revelation, could attain. But this is very different from the ability of explaining the metaphysical nature of the Deity, which was the subject embarrassing Thales and Simonides. On this subject revelation is silent, for its object was to instruct men in their duties and their hopes, not to enable them to discuss the nature of their God.” (Dr. Miller’s *Obss.* 177. 1825.)

*Nescire vñlle, quæ Magister optimus
Docere non vult, crudita inscitia est *.*

Jos. Scaliger, Iambi Gnomici XXI. Lugd. Bat. 1607. duod.

(²¹). Page 10. Compare Bishop Horsley’s Tracts, 279. 1812.

* “As there is a foolish wisdom, so there is a wise ignorance; in not prying into God’s Arke, and not enquiring into things not revealed. I would fain know all that I need, and all that I may; I leave God’s secrets to Himself. It is happy for me, that God makes me of his Court, though not of his Council.” Bp. Hall’s *Medit. and Vows*, Cent. I. §. 3.

(²²). Page 10. No one denies the *facts* of science, on the ground of its being utterly impossible for us to explain their *manner*; and it is well remarked—it had occurred also to the late Earl Dudley (Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, 19 March, 1817)—that when the authenticity of Scripture is once established, the authority of those doctrines of which it is the medium follows in a moment, as a matter of course.

Some one, in Dr. Parr's hearing, boasted his resolve never to believe what he did not understand. . . . "Then, Sir, your creed will be the shortest of anybody's I know." This outvies in pungency a celebrated *mot* of Dr. Johnson*.

The Bishop of Ely (Dr. Turton) permits me to relate, on his authority, an anecdote which deserves to be generally known. A friend, in the course of conversation, asked Professor Porson, what he thought of the evidence afforded by the New Testament in favour of Christ's divinity. His answer was short and decisive: "If the New Testament is to determine the question, and words have any meaning, the Socinians are wrong."

Had the writer in the Cyclopædia perused a note in Dean Tucker's sermons, 1776, he might have abstained from his attempted ridicule of Dr. Wallis.

(²³). Page 10. The words *early opinions* mean, not (as the reader might charitably presume) Dr. Priestley's *juvenile ideas*, but the opinions which he imagined to have existed at an early period in the

* *A man's creed does not depend upon himself: who can say I will believe this, that, or the other?—and least of all, that which he can least comprehend.*" Lord Byron's Journals.

"Neither the *things* to be believed, nor the *evidence* by which they are to be proved, depend on a man: but it does depend on him whether he be willingly ignorant of that evidence; whether he give it a fair examination; and whether he allow it to have its due weight on himself. A man's creed, then, *does*, though not wholly, yet in a degree *infinitely important to him*, depend on himself.

"He can also say, with as much reason, *I will—as, I will not—believe*. If he say, he will not believe, he thereby admits that his disbelief is a matter of *choice*: and he may therefore as well choose to *believe* as to *disbelieve*.

"The credibility of a thing is not affected by the capacity of any man's intellect. It depends on its own nature, on its own proofs, or on both. If a man does not comprehend a thing so far as to be able to prove that it *cannot* be, he is bound to yield his belief to the proofs that it *is*. The higher a thing may be above him, the less does he—or can he—comprehend it; the less able he is to prove that it cannot be; and the more he must depend on the evidence that it is. And as the obligation to believe a thing, is in proportion to its importance; and some things, the most important to a man, are the highest above him: it follows, that he is *most bound* to believe some things which he does and can *least comprehend*." From MS. of the Rev. T. S. L. Vogan, vicar of Walberton and preb. of Chichester.

Christian church. With almost equal hardihood, in the concluding sentence of the final section of Part III. of his (so-called) Corruptions of Christianity, Dr. P. owns that without "effort and straining" the Apostolic Epistles do not sanction his views.

In the self-same temper, struggling to bring the Written Word to a level with individual prepossessions, Socinus speaks concerning the interpretation of Rom. vii. . . . *Certè contraria sententia ADEO MIHI ET ABSURDA - - ET PERNICIOSA ESSE VIDETUR, ut QUANTACUMQUE VIS POTIUS PAULI VERBIS SIT ADHIBENDA, quam ea admittenda.* (F. Socini Epist. 2. ad Balcerovicium, 30 Jan. 1581. Opera, i. 425. 1656.)

With these, which are not solitary, specimens before his eyes, the reader will feel the truth of Dr. Hey's representation, IV. 1. §. 16.—It is better and more manly to receive Scripture *μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν, μηδὲ κατ' ἴδιον νοῦν μηδὲ βιαζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδομένα.* Hippol. contra Noet. 9. i.e. "having ascertained by Reason what is and what is not, the meaning of Scripture, let us there rest, and receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save our souls." Abp. Laurence's Vindie. I. ix. 1838.

(²⁴). Page 11. *Sixteen hundred years ago*, this difficulty of assignment was no less unconquerable than it has been since experienced. At the close of the second century, the followers of Theodotus contended that *Zephyrinus*, the bishop of Rome, who succeeded Victor their active suppressor, had first introduced the divinity of Christ (Euseb. H. Eccl. V. 28); while Marcellus of Ancyra, A.D. 330, would have it originate with *Origen*, . . . both received an abundant confutation. Two books of exceeding interest are, . . . *A Layman's Vindication of St. Matthew and St. Luke*, 1822 (the author, I owe the information to the Bishop of London's kindness, was a Quaker, Mr. John Bevan); and Wilson's *Illustration*, re-edited by Dr. Turton, 1838, with an additional leaf*.

* Both Theodotus and Artemon, though deniers of our Lord's præ-existence and inherent divinity, believed the miraculous conception (Theodoret Hær. Fab. II. 6. V. 11. [Tertull.] Præser. 53); but Theodotus discarded the leading Gnostic doctrine that the Christ, a divine emanation, descended upon Jesus at the Baptism, holding that Jesus was Christ—i.e. a teacher divinely commissioned and inspired—from the moment of his birth: thus, being *the first* who considered the complex *Jesus Christ* to be a mere man, he is spoken of as the parent "of *this* God-denying apostasy" (Euseb. V. 28), and the name of *Alogi* appropriated to his followers. The statements of Epiphanius and Philastrius are well vindicated in Wilson's *Illustration*, 297-300. 1838.

The Gnostics looking upon the *body*, as *material*, to be intrinsically evil, supposed accordingly that the *æon* Christ descended upon the *man* Jesus at his baptism,

(²⁵). Page 11. The old rituals for the Communion Office, though not taken from one source, manifestly were formed upon one plan; and the plan, with little hesitation, may be referred to the Apostles themselves; the circumstance is exceedingly remarkable, and in no less degree important. See Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, i. 80.

(²⁶). Page 12. See Professor Smyth's Lectures on the French Revolution, III. 307. 1840. (Prelim. Lect. for 1833.)

(²⁷). Page 12. *What hath been held always, everywhere, and by all.* (Vincentii Lirin. Commonitorium, §. 2.) This is of course a *moral*, not a mathematical, universality; the concurrence of the best and greatest doctors throughout the whole succession. Accordingly, it is untouched by a caustic taunt from the pen of Hales of Eton, . . . "*Universality* is such a proof of truth, as Truth itself is ashamed of; for Universality is but a quaint and a trimmer name to signify the multitude. - - The most singular and strongest part of humane authority is properly in the wisest and most virtuous; and these, I trow, are not the most universal." (Sermon upon Gal. vi. 7. 1673. Works by Lord Hailes, iii. 164, 1765*.)—The mental poverty which mistakes singularity of opinion for originality and independence, is delicately touched in Dugald Stewart's Prel. Diss. to Encycl. Brit. 120, 1835.

(²⁸). Page 12. The following pamphlets cannot be too earnestly commended to perusal:—Bishop Russell's (of Glasgow) Consecration Sermon, *third* edit. Rivingtons, 1838; the *second* edition of Dr. Elrington's Sermon on the Apostolic Succession, Dublin, 1840; Mr. Sinclair's Dissertation, Rivingtons, 1839, duod.; and the Principle of Apostolic Order, by Mr. J. J. Hornby, Rector of Winwick, 1826.—It is thus that identity in *organisation*, as by the Liturgy identity in *feeling*, with the Church Catholic is assured to us.

(²⁹). Page 12. A *real*, as distinct from a *corporal*, presence is

or else assumed what was merely the semblance of flesh; and that, just before the Crucifixion, it took flight to regain its original abode. On the same ground, while some Gnostics sought to macerate their bodies by the most ridiculous austerities, others regarded the indulgence of its appetites unworthy of a thought; and others, yet more gross, openly avowed that it was proper to evince contempt for the body by plunging it into the most revolting pollutions of sensuality. A sane mind will not easily lend itself to the imagination, that debasement of the Body is altogether the surest method to refine and elevate the Soul.

* The old edition of Hales consists of the following, . . . *Remains* (with Bishop Pearson's Preface) 2nd edit. 1673, qu.; *Sermons at Eton*, 2nd edit. 1673, oct.; *Several Tracts* (with portrait), 1677, oct. His life was written by Des Maizeaux, 1719; who disowns the two tracts printed in the Phoenix, 1708:

promised in Matt. xviii. 20. "Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent." *Homily concerning the Sacrament*, part i. page 398. Oxford, 1840. The latter words were probably aimed at Zwinglius, as holding what was termed the Real absence*. (In the concluding sentence of the same part, *but the reality* would be preferable to *but the body*.)

Luther's consubstantial union of iron and fire in a piece of red-hot iron, was not less imaginary than the view in support of which it was adduced by him; but Archbishop Cranmer soon perceived, that the similitude would avail towards illustrating the sounder doctrine of the English church: "*Yron, remaynyng in his [i.e. its] proper nature & substaunce, by conceauyng of fyre may worke an other thing then is the nature of yron. And so lykewise bread, remaynyng in his [i.e. its] proper nature and substaunce in the ministration of the sacrament, hath an other use then [i.e. than] to feede the body.*" Cranmer's Remains, iii. 279. 283, 1834. With similar acuteness—when the fragments of a looking-glass, each of which is capable of representing at full length one and the same figure, were alleged by the upholders of Transubstantiation to explain the entire bodily presence of Christ in every piece of the consecrated bread†—did Wiclif rejoin . . . True, but that which they present, is the *reflection* or *image* of the figure, not its *substance*. Wiclif's Wyckett (or Ostiolum, A.D. 1381), p. xliii. Oxford, 1828. duod.‡.

* Our definition of a Sacrament requires a Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, as of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, yet (as Cranmer says) we neither *impanate* the one nor *inagate* the other; and Abp. Secker, who will not be suspected of partiality, justly terms it the undoubted doctrine of our church.

(A very general misapprehension has obtained of the notice annexed in 1662—at Bp. Gauden's instance, Burnet's pref. to pt. 3 of Ref. p. vii. Oxf. 1829; Own Time, I. 183, 184.—to the concluding rubrics of the Communion Service, as if the substitution of *any Corporal Presence* for *anye reall and essencial presence there beeing* (2nd Book of Edw. VI.), evinced a change of sentiment; "essencial"= *substantial*, just as in Art. V. "substance" (1571) was *essence* (1562). Thus in the 1552 clause (omitted 1562) of art. XXVIII, *et Corporalem* defines what sense of *realem* is to be excluded; to exclude it altogether—i. e. had the two words been synonymous—they would have written *sive*.)

† So far as I am aware, this illustration was first given by Hugh of Strasburg, A.D. 1280, in his *Compendium Theologicæ Veritatis*, VI. 12. (In vol. VII. of Bonaventure's works, 1609.) He then proceeds to reasons for the threefold partition of the wafer, for which see also Bonaventure's *Centiloquium*, (in vol. VI.) pt. III. §. 50, ad fin.

‡ From the *Norenburgh* (Nuremberg) edition of 1546. An edition of 1548 professes to be more complete; one of 1612 is in the British Museum.

Chrysostom had said, καθάπερ γὰρ πρὸς ὁμιλοῦντος σιδήρω, καὶ ὁ σιδήρος γίνεται πῦρ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ μένων φύσει.

See Mr. Alex. Knox's *Doctrine of the Sacraments*, 1838, duod. and the celebrated *Book of Bertram the Priest*, Oxford, 1838, duod.

(³⁰) Page 13. The *Primitive Doctrine of Election* was excellently disentangled from both Arminian and Calvinistic error, in a work under that title by Mr. Faber, 2nd. edit., 1842; a perspicacious abstract is exhibited in pp. 111–126 of *Illustrations of the Doctrine, Principle, and Practice, of the Church of England*, 1840, duod.

(³¹). Page 13. The above paragraph, two slight verbal alterations excepted, belongs to Dr. Miller, the well-known author of *Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History*, 1832, iv. oct.

Humanly speaking, it is to Cranmer and to Bishop Ridley that our gratitude is due, for the admirable care displayed in the authentic formularies of the Church of England. The excellent Melancthon appears to have been the only foreigner to whose opinion they attached much weight. See 198–201, of Abp. Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, 1838. (With undissembled deference to so accomplished a Latinist as Mr. Hallam, *Europ. Lit.* I. vi. 15. *note*, Melancthon—Letter to Cranmer, 1548—certainly included himself in *apud nostros*; and *nostræ* would have represented him as the sole offender, or might seem to implicate his correspondent. See Abp. Laurence, 12. 46. 375. 283. whose work well merited commemoration in *Europ. Lit.* I. vi. 30.) Mr. J. J. Blunt's little *Sketch of the Reformation in England*, needs no recommendation; and its perusal may be preceded by the *first chapter* of Mr. Carwithen's *History of the Church of England*, 1829, and by Mr. Churton's *Early English Church*, 1841, duod*. Ridley's life was written by his namesake, Dr. Gloucester Ridley, 1764. qu. A contemporary, Cavendish, (the affectionate biographer of Cardinal Wolsey,) describes him at Queen Katherine's trial, as "a very small person in stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerk in divinity;" and, respecting his influence, there are interesting observations in the *Remains of Mr. Alexander Knox*, i. 379, (346 of the first edition) iii. 53. 68.

The graceful passage, a favourite with Mr. Rogers, in which a former biographer, Gilpin, sums up the Primate's way of life, should have been preserved in the two small but most pleasing volumes of Mr.

* With points which have been exposed to misconstruction, Mr. Soames' *History of the English Reformation* (1826–1839), frequently deals very satisfactorily; but his *fifth* volume is surprisingly disfigured by the heavy affectation of its style.

Le Bas' Life of Cranmer. He followed three rules of inestimable value, . . . always to write standing, never to read near an open window, and never to retire to rest with cold feet.

(³²). Page 13. Other differences are specified by Bishop Beveridge under the Nineteenth Article. Among the most valuable works in the Romish controversy, are Bull's *Vindication* and *Corruptions*, Laud's Conference, Barrow on Supremacy, Waterland, V. 97-157, Leslie's *Case Stated, Regale*, and *Private Judgement*, Chillingworth and Jewell. Chillingworth's book is a defence of Protestantism in the abstract; conclusively extending salvability beyond the Romish pale, without directly determining what is the best form of Protestantism, as most exactly according with the primitive pattern; but our Church is the only one which satisfies the conditions of his theorem, ch. 5. § 82.

As regards our position with respect to Rome, at the Reformation of the Church of England, six particulars are very noticeable :

1. Those who unanimously voted an historical declaration of the royal supremacy, in England and Ireland, were orthodox on all religious points. Archbishop Bramhall's *Schism Guarded*, 359. fol.=II. 492. 1842.
2. Paul IV. and Pius IV. offered to recognise our Liturgy*, on concession of the Supremacy. Bishop Bull's *Vindic.* §. 26, from Camden and Baker, under A.D. 1560. Sir Roger Twysden's *Vindic.* IX. 1675. (Of this last work a new edition, with large additions by the author, is in preparation at Cambridge.)
3. The English Romanists frequented our churches, till the Bull of Pius V. 25 Feb. 1570.
4. Rome made the schism. Archbishop Bramhall's *Replication to Bp. of Chalcedon*, 274. fol.=II. 254. 1842.
5. "As for ourselves, that which we maintain is this: That our

* So little did the guardians of our Reformation suspect the want of harmony, of which we hear in Mr. Ward's *Ideal*, between the Liturgy and the Articles, that the celebrated Canon *Of Preachers*, 1571, expressly says: *And because those articles of Christian religion, agreed upon by the Bishoppes, in the lawfull, & godly convocation, & by the commandement, & authoritie of our noble princesse Elizabeth assembled & holden, undoubtedly are gathered out of the holy bookes of the olde, and New Testamente, & in all points agree with the heavenly doctrine containyd in them: because also the booke of common prayers, & the booke of the consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers & Deacons, containe nothing repugnant to the same doctrine, whosoever shall be sent to teach the people, shall not onely in their preaching, but also by subscription confirm the authoritie & truth of those articles. He that doth otherwise, or troubleth the people with contrary doctrine shall be excommunicated.*

Church, and the Pastors thereof, did always acknowledge the same rule of faith, the same fundamental articles of the Christian religion, both before and since the Reformation; but with this difference, that we then professed the rule of faith together with the additional corruptions of the Church of Rome; but now (God be thanked) without them. So that the change as to matters of doctrine, which hath been in our Church and our Pastors, is for the better; like that of a man from being leprous becoming sound and healthy, and yet always the same man." Bishop Bull's *Vindie.* §. 25. He goes on to quote Bishop Hall's *Old Religion*, ch. 3.

6. It must be remembered that the Jews when driven into Captivity for their idolatry, were still the Church of God. Nor are we implicated in the character of Henry VIII. "Jehu was none of the best men, yet God used him to purge his Church, and to take away the priests of Baal." Archbishop Bramhall, 165. fol.=II. 69.

(³³). Page 13. See §. 17 of the Injunctions of King William III. 1694, in Dr. Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, 1844. 2nd edit.

The mulcts which Laud added to the funds for reparation of old St. Paul's, 1631-40, were not—as in the case of St. Peter's at Rome—*indulgences* for the future, but *fines* for the past.

(³⁴). Page 14. Lev. xiii. 6; xiv. 11. Bishop Sanderson desired it not long before his death, as we are told in Izaak Walton's most instructive life of that prelate, 437 of Major's edit. 1825. See also Bishop Bull's closing hours in Mr. Nelson's account, §. 79. p. 393. 1827; where the true explanation is, that the Bishop did not come within the limitations of the Rubric.

The "sure and certain hope of THE Resurrection. . . . OUR vile body," of the Burial Service, must be understood generally, and without reference to the particular individual then committed to the ground. Nevertheless the framers of that beautiful office never imagined its being read over persons of notoriously evil conversation, taking for granted that all such would be excommunicate (1 Cor. v. 11.), and therefore excluded by the Rubric.

(³⁵). Page 14. These remarkable expressions are taken from the examinations of the *Select Committee of House of Commons on Bribery at Elections*, page 448, No. 7685, 10 July, 1835, and page 592, No. 10,315, 1 Aug. 1835.

Si quis dixerit absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis non esse actum judicalem, sed nudum ministerium pronuntiandi et declarandi remissa

esse peccata confitenti, - - *Anathema sit*. Ninth Canon of Penance, in the XIV. session at Trent, A.D. 1551.

See also Archdeacon Todd's pamphlet, *Of Confession and Absolution, and the Secrecy of Confession*, p. 34. 1828, and Bishop Marsh's *Compar. View*, 195, 2nd edit. 1816.

(³⁶). Page 14. See page xxxii. (and, indeed, all the prefatory matter) of Bishop Jebb's edition of *Bishop Burnet's Lives*, 1833, duod.: a little book which no one will open without desiring to purchase it.

(³⁷). Page 15. *Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra Scripturas nemo Christianus, contra Ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.* (*Augustin de Trin.* iv. 6.) Nor will it be easy to discover a community in which each of these principles is more worthily maintained than by the Church of England, . . . who, making reason her guide and the Bible her only standard, consults antiquity as a check upon the soundness of her interpretations; whereas the Romanist gives the immediate decision to the church existing at the time, the *ultra*-Protestant to the individual himself. The startling agreement in many things between *popery* and *ultra*-protestantism, is pointed out in 88, 89 of the Appendix to Archdeacon Manning's sermon upon *The Rule of Faith*, 2nd edit. 1839. Two strange stories are in Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 258, 259. 1771, qu. and South's *Sermons*, i. 64, 1823; for the last see Nichols' *Calv.* and *Armin.* 785. 1824, Baxter's life by Sylvester, 98. 1696, and Thurloe's *State Papers*, VII. 355. 1742.

"He that will rightly make use of his Reason must take all that is reasonable into consideration." (*Account of the new sect of Latitude-Men at Cambridge*, by S. P., 1662.)* Compare three notes in *Waterland*, v. 271. 330, 331. An excellent sermon, *The Duty of Private Judgment*, was printed by Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, 1838.

* Reprinted in II. 505 of the *Phoenix*, 1703; their *Principles and Practices* were defended by Bishop Fowler, 1671.

What Barrow has said of our religion, holds also of our Church; "it doth not bid men to put out their eyes, or to shut them close; no, nor even to wink, and then to receive it: it rather obliges them to open their eyes wide, to go into the clearest light; with their best senses to view it thoroughly, before they embrace it. It requires not, yea it refuses, ordinarily, a sudden and precipitate assent; admitting no man (capable of judging and choosing for himself) to the participation thereof, or acknowledging him to be a believer indeed; till (after a competent time and means of instruction) he declares himself to understand it well, and heartily to approve it." Barrow's serm. *Of the Truth and Divinity of the Christian Religion*.

The following works, in the order here set down, will be found very interesting to those who desire, with no great labour, to study the *evidences* of religion. Paley's Natural Theology*, adding Paxton's plates (1828 or 1836), to illustrate more distinctly the relations of structure to capacity and purpose; Leslie's short method with the Deists; Bishop Watson's Letters in answer to Paine's Age of Reason; Davison's *first* discourse upon Prophecy, 1834; Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Prophecies; Paley's Evidences; Lord Lyttleton's St. Paul; Paley's *Horæ*; Mr. Hobart's Analysis of Bishop Butler's Analogy, with the compendium in Mr. Bartlett's Life of the Bishop, 1839, Quart. Rev. XLIII. 183-215, and Sir Geo. Crawford's Questions; Crombie's Natural Theology (or Quart. Rev. LI. 213); Barrow's glorious sermon *of the Excellency of the Christian Religion*; Bishop Marsh's Comparative View, 92-110, 1816†; and the rapid outline of early historic testimony in pages 335-360 of Vogan's Bampton Lectures.

* Jones of Nayland has four sermons (Gen. i. 12, 25, 9. Rom. i. 20) on the religious uses of Botany and Natural History.

† This might be followed by Schmidt's *Historia et Vindicatio Canonis V. F.* Lipsiæ, 1775, oct. and by Kingdon's translation of Less's *Authenticity of the New Testament*, 1804.

JUSTIFICATION THROUGH FAITH.

Archbishop Crammer's homily upon *Faith*—the fourth in the First Book—plainly and accurately distinguishes it from *belief**; as not barely a persuasion that Jesus Christ did really live and teach and suffer, . . . for this even infidels may have, and Archbishop Whately's ingenious and excellent pamphlet *Historic Doubts concerning Napoleon*† has shown that the denial of it does away likewise the clearest and most irrefragable history. Faith is the heart-felt conviction that, in fulfilment of the gracious Promise, He came to *abolish Sin* and *remit* its penalties; His death saving us from its *guilt*, and His blessed Spirit from its *dominion*‡, . . . to point out the path of reconciliation and peace, restoring what had been forfeited by Adam's disobedience, . . . that where sin and misery and death had abounded, righteousness and happiness and life might finally *super-abound*. We must feel also, and acknowledge, that these inestimable mercies are needed for us, one and all, with no exception.

The doctrine of Justification through § Faith is *most wholesome*, because it prevents our confiding in any fancied merit of our own; it is *very full of comfort* to all who are duly sensible

* See part I. of the Homily on Faith; Bishop Kaye's Charge, 27–31. 1843; Dr. Isaac Barrow's Sermons *Of Faith*.

† Suggested by a small French *brochure*.

‡ The Greek import of ἡσούς more especially expresses *remission*, as σωτήρ does *Emancipation*. ἰασαί με, κύριε, καὶ ἰαθήσομαι* σῶσόν με, καὶ σωθήσομαι ὅτι καύχημά μου σὺ εἶ. Jer. xvii. 14, LXX.

§ In the Latin text of the Eleventh Article, we find *per fidem* followed by *fide*; just as St. Paul does not hesitate to use the ambiguous πίστει, after a recurrence of the unambiguous διὰ πίστεως, in Rom. iii. 22–28.—After the Lord's Prayer in the post-Communion we read, with exact discrimination, “*BY the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and THROUGH faith in his blood.*”

We must carefully remember, that *faith* is no more the *meritorious cause* of our justification than *works* can be.—See pages 173–200 of Archbishop Laurence's *Saxon Visitation*, 1839.

of the unavoidable imperfectness of the utmost and best human endeavours, and are therefore not unlikely to despond. *Quis enim*, exclaims St. Bernard, *de suâ vel sapientiâ, vel justitiâ, vel sanctitate, præsumat sufficientiam ad salutem?* (Serm. 22 in Cantica.) Some degree of imperfection clings even to our *best* actions, and morally all defect is sinful; yet God is pleased to accept them as imputatively good, when sincerely wrought in Christ*.

The Eleventh Article declares, in the first place that Justification is bestowed *on account of* Christ's propitiation,† solely, and not *on account of* any claim on man's part (which last is naught); and then, that *the means* through which our individual interest in that great Sacrifice is established, is our hearty and entire acceptance of its sufficiency, our trust in Him as our Redeemer and our obeying Him as our King‡. The Article in no wise treats Works as divorceable, but only as differing *in kind* from Faith, the presence whereof constitutes *their Christian character*. One of the Greek fathers (Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 882) has said, that works attend close upon the heel of faith, even as the *shadow* attends upon the *substance*; and his illustration has justly been pronounced a very happy one, . . . because, the intensity of the light being in all cases equal, the depth of the shadow enables us to estimate the solidity of the body from which it is cast. The final clause of the Twelfth Article speaks of the two as inseparable; and the same is signi-

* See the Tenth and Thirteenth Articles.

† It cannot be supposed that Christ's death was required to *make* God placable, though appointed by divine goodness to be *the instrumental means*—the most awful that we can imagine—of our justification before Him, . . . the Divine Goodness being itself the *first cause* of that justification, Rom. iii. 23–25; and the Homily of Salvation, p. 25. Oxf. 1840. (p. 33. 1832.) This admirable homily, referred to at the close of Art. XI., was also written by Archbishop Cranmer.

‡ As *heard* he is the Word—a term more especially applicable to Him as having been, as Scripture instructs us, the medium of *all* manifestations of God's will; as *seen* he is the Light; as *obeyed and followed* he is the Way; as *very God* he is the Truth; and as *felt* he is the Life. John xiv. 6.

fied by placing the Creed and the Decalogue, side by side, over the Communion Table, . . . as, in conjunction with the Lord's Prayer, indicating all the duties of a christian man*.

We are saved through faith alone†, but not through that faith which is alone, . . . i.e. *διὰ πίστεως χωρὶς ἔργων* (*per Fidem, nullo operum adjumento*, Rom. iii. 28, against the legalist,) but not *διὰ πίστεως τῆς χωρὶς ἔργων* (*per fidem infructuosam*, James ii. 14, 17, against the pretender and the antinomian). "It is not," says Hooker‡, "our meaning to separate thereby faith from any other quality or duty which God requireth to be matched therewith, but *from faith to seclude in justification* the fellowship of worth in precedent works, as the apostle St. Paul doth." In true faith, besides assent of the understanding, there must be consent of the will, and concurrence of the heart§.

* Those panels place before us for contemplation in our christian course (typified in the passage from the Font to the Communion Table) the three Evangelic Virtues, 1 Cor. xiii. 13; *Hope* being expressed in the Lord's Prayer, and the Two Tables—for whose central position various reasons may be alleged—betokening the two-fold aspect of *Charity* (as towards God, and as towards Man, Rom. xiii. 10), which covereth a multitude of sins, 1 Pet. iv. 8. Prov. x. 12, by leading us to forgive others as God hath forgiven us.

(Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, constitute the Cardinal Virtues. The private moral virtues, "as Aristotle hath devised," and Spenser designed to paint, are twelve. Shakspeare recounts

The king-becoming graces,
As justice, verity, temperance, stableness,
Bounty, perseverance, mercy, lowliness,
Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude.—~~Macbeth~~ (IV. xiii.)

† See above, note (§), upon p. 37.

‡ Hooker's answer to the "Christian Letter;" in Works by Keble, II. 553. 1841; see page 19 (=27) of the homily just cited.

§ Bishop Browne's Procedure of the Understanding, i. 248, 253, 256, 1729—1733.

In Christo petrâ fidei fundam~~us~~ jacto,
Spe paries surgit, culmina complet amor.
Vivit agendo fides; ubi non est actus amoris,
Gignit abortivam spem moribunda fides.

These lines occur in a letter from Geoffry, sub-prior of St. Barbara, in Normandy, about 1170. I take them from Mr. Maitland's most interesting *Dark Ages* 201. 1845, 2nd edit.

Such faith unfeigned will not fail, as opportunity arises, to develope itself in the various charities and trials of life*; such alone it is which gives to each of us an interest in the benefits accruing from the death of Christ, . . . not for the works' sake which accompany it (since thus we should bring in human merit, and thereby detract from the meritoriousness of Christ's sacrifice, Eph. ii. 8, 9), but because in itself it is hearty and true. And though all the works in the world cannot suffice to save one single person, still—as the very next article is careful to declare—when wrought in Christ they are acceptable and well-pleasing to God, as *tokens* and *tests* and *measures* of our *gratitude* and *obedience*, or in other words, of the *sincerity* of our *faith*; according to which shall our reward hereafter be. Rev. xxii. 12; Rom. ii. 6, iii. 31; Matt. vii. 21, xvi. 27; John xiii. 17; 2 Cor. v. 10; James i. 22. Not indeed that, in so speaking of reward, the Bible implies any proportion between the enjoyment of Heaven and man's work on earth—as to which the fathers unanimously cite Rom. viii. 18—but that such will be found, on comparing *any one man's work and reward* with others'. As if, for instance, three persons severally should be paid three hundred, six hundred, and nine hundred pounds of gold for five, ten, and fifteen minutes' labour. "*Thou, LORD, art MERCIFUL; FOR Thou rewardest every man according to his work.*" Ps. lxii. 12†.

* That sublunary existence is a state of probation, is the only solution which our present faculties enable us to frame, for the permitted existence of evil. Were virtue and vice here regularly followed by reward and punishment, this life would be a state of retribution and not of trial. Even as things are, the *same* visitations affect good and bad men very differently; and those too good to be punished, are not too perfect to be tried.

† Faith, as a theological virtue, answers very nearly to the social tie of *loyalty*, . . . the value of which—in whatever relation of life, for it may exist in all—is its devotedness of heart; its abnegation and extinction of *Self*.

Leavté to luff is gretumly (*is greatly to be prized*),
Through leavté liffis (*lives*) men rychtwisly :

Although they prove sometimes deceptive, analogies (even when unavoidably imperfect*) often aid our intelligence of things which seem, at the first view, to pass or to perplex our comprehension.

Were a person to proclaim to the beggars of St. Giles' his purpose to present affluence, upon a certain day, to every one who should apply with clean hands—though their *not* having washed will be the *cause* of their *not* getting it—they would not get it *because* their hands were washed, not yet *because* of the donor's promise, . . . inasmuch as he lay under no antecedent obligation to make that promise or to give the money, it being wholly the result of his own will and pleasure. Neither can it

With a (*one*) wertu, and leavté,
 A man may yeit suffieyand be:
 And but (*without*) leawté may nane haiff price,
 Quethir he be wycht (*valiant*), or he be wyss;
 For quhar it failleys, na wertu
 May be off price, na off valu,
 To make a man sa gud, that he
 May *symply callyt gud* man be.

From the fine character of Lord James of Douglas,
 in Barbour's *Bruce*, I. 365—374. edit. Jamieson.

The last line resembles the *verâ simplicitate bonus* of Martial, I. XL. 4; and I the more willingly quote the passage, as (like the emphatic ΤΟΝ ἀνδρα ΤΟΝ ἀγαθον, Xen. Cyrop. III. 3, 4) it serves highly to illustrate the ΤΟΥ ἀγαθοῦ in Rom. v. 7.—Butler's quatrain (Hudib. III. ii. 173-176.) lives, I trust, in the memory of all my readers.

* Three considerations, greatly tending to facilitate our conception of a part, at least, of the Divine attributes, may be acceptable to some into whose hands these pages fall.

1. There is neither *past* nor *future* in the illimitable now of eternity. The stream flowing in the day-time from Battersea to Black-wall, is *as present* to the sun at one place as at the other. (Castalio ad Rom. viii.)

2. A man at the summit of a lofty mountain, is *present* to every part of the visible horizon.

3. A man who through a telescope perceives a person about to commit a felony, after which he will be seized by others, unseen by himself, but who *are* visible to the observer, . . . is not *necessarily* to be deemed the *cause* either of the perpetration or of the capture.

be said that their washing is the *means* through which his gift is obtained, for, without going to the place appointed, that would not avail, . . . it resolves itself into their *hopeful reliance* that the promise will be kept. Without the pleasure of the donor, the *means* would not exist, and the *two conditions*, if performed at all, would be performed unavailingly. Moreover neither those who profited by the offer, nor those who neglected it, could in the least complain, if at the time of distribution, they found the same bounty bestowed on others who had been too far away to hear anything respecting the proclamation; but who, as the donor happened to have ascertained, *had* washed their hands, as thinking cleanliness not undesirable in itself both for themselves and for their neighbours.—We will not just now enquire whence the money comes, nor whether it will be shared precisely alike, . . . for where each has all that his capacity admits—*i.e.* where each is *as happy as possible*—all, so far at least as their own perceptions are concerned, are *equally* happy*.

* The illustration of this—to be found in Boswell's Johnson, vii. 131. 1835—must, I should think, very probably be traceable to one or other of the schoolmen. An earlier instance of its occurrence than any mentioned by Boswell's annotators, is in the old Scottish poet, Sir David Lyndsay:—

Howbeit in hevyn, thoct (*though*) everilk creature
 Have nocht (*not*) alike felicitie, nor glore;
 Yet everilk ane sall haif sa greit plesure,
 And sa content, thay sall desyre no more:
 To have mair joye, they sall na way implore,
 Bot, thay sal be all satisfyit, and content,
 Lyke to this rude exempil subsequent.

Take ane crowat (*cruet*), ane pynte stope, and ane quart, &c.

The rest may be seen in Lyndsay's Works by Chalmers, iii. 166. 1806, or in Ellis' Specimens of English Poetry, ii. 27. 1811.

Classical readers will be reminded of the Stoic tenet *illud . . . quod be-
 atum facit, æquale crit in omnibus*. Seneca, *Ep.* 79. §. 8; and Bishop Bull
 (I. 189. 1827) refers to the manna, Ex. xvi. 18. A friend points out,
 that Aquinas—citing Matt. xx. 10. John xiv. 2 (where Augustin says,
Fit quidem per charitatem, ut quod habent singuli, commune sit omnibus)
 —writes thus: *unitas denarii significat unitatem beatitudinis ex parte*

It might not be fitting, even were it both necessary and possible, to find an exact similitude in every point. Sufficient has been said, to make the doctrine of God's dealing with us, plain and reasonable to any ordinary understanding; and to shew the nonsense, to employ no harsher word, of objecting to the phrase *conditions of salvation*, as though it limited the *freeness* of God's grace. Full two thousand years have passed since Socrates had occasion to explain the total difference between a *cause* and a *condition*. Plat. Phædon, 99 Steph.; and Augustin has well said, that the graces which shall inherit appportionate reward in heaven are themselves of Grace. Epist. 194. §. 5 (*al.* 19).

The ensuing observations may perhaps contribute towards what is called—not very fortunately—the *reconcilement* of St. Paul and St. James, as to Faith and Works.

§ 1. The doctrine taught by the two apostles is precisely the same; but they are dealing with two different questions.

§ 2. St. PAUL's opponents were principally honest Judaizers.

§ 2. St. JAMES' opponents were Gnostics, and others who misrepresented the Christian doctrine.

§ 3. The question determined by St. Paul, is—What is man's *means of justification?*

§ 3. The question determined by St. James, is—What is *true faith?*

§ 4. By *WORKS* he means *all legal works* whatsoever (whether

§ 4. By *WORKS* he means those of evangelical obedience*; for he

objecti; sed diversitas mansionum significat diversitatem beatitudinis secundum gradum fruitionis. Aquinas 1a 2æ qu. 5. art. 2. §. 1. εἰσὶ γὰρ παρὰ Κυρίῳ καὶ μισθοὶ, καὶ μοναὶ, πλείονες κατὰ ἀναλογίαν βίων. Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. 579. VI. 797. That reward is apportioned to improvement may be demonstrated from Mat. xxv. 14. At present we cannot hope to solve all difficulties—how, for instance, to bear the absence of those who, however unworthy, were most dearly loved on earth; of one thing we are sure, . . not a thought of envy or repining flits across the majestic symphony of heaven. Dante's *Paradiso* III. 64–90.

* Such are the works mentioned, 2 Thes. i. 11; 1 Tim. i. 5; John vi. 28, viii. 39; Rom. vii. 4; Gal. v. 22; Eph. v. 9—opposed to “dead works,” *i. e.* to those (fairer indeed than *works of the flesh*, or *of darkness*,

of the natural or of the written code,) and whether ceremonial or moral.

§ 5. He uses $\epsilon\kappa$ and $\delta\iota\alpha$ with critical exactness, in Rom. iii. 30; where the $\tau\eta\varsigma$ will perplex no careful reader of 21—31.

Q. d.—The JEW *mistook* the means designed him, thinking to be saved of ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi$) *works* (i. e. those of the Mosaic law;) the GENTILE *was not aware of any* means whatever of salvation:—the JEW had only to see clearly, and the real means lay before him . . because to him Christianity was not properly a new religion, but the perfection of the Patriarchal and Mosaic systems; the GENTILE did not know what to look for, . . but the same means, when found, were to avail equally for him*.

§ 6. He asserts “affiance in Jesus Christ,” in opposition to *man’s works*, Rom. iii. 28; and denounces all inherent strength of works if in any way relied upon as meritorious causes of acceptance, . . because the only acceptance we can have, is for *Christ’s* sake and not *our own*.

§ 7. *Faith* is *faith*, even where it has no opportunity of exercise, Rom. iv. 5; but it is no single act, or declaration, to be made and done with . . being ever ready to evince itself, and not merely contemplative.

Abraham’s was a *course* of action, Gen. xii. 1—4; xv. 2—4; xvii. 23; xviii. 19; xxvi. 5. His *faith* was stronger than a seeming con-

does *not* say “works of law,” nor does he say “of his” or “her works.”

§ 5. He uses (not $\delta\iota\alpha$ but) $\epsilon\kappa$,—which it is difficult so to render, as not at the same time to mislead the English reader—compare Rom. iii. 20. Gal. ii. 16; iii. 11.

§ 6. He asserts “evangelical obedience,” in opposition to *pretended faith*, ii. 14, 17; right principles implying corresponding practice as occasion arises, and an inoperative faith *not being faith at all*, 17. 20. 26. *Fides, ipsa ut nativitas, non accepta sed custodita vivificat.* Cyprian.

Rom. xiii. 12; Gal. v. 19; Eph. v. 12. Col. i. 21, but) destitute of vitality because not sprung from faith, Heb. vi. 1, ix. 14.

* The means being two-fold: viz. on God’s part, the Atonement through Christ’s death; on man’s part, faith in that Atonement.

tradition, Rom. iv. 18; and, in taking his son Isaac to Moriah, his *obedience* seemed even stronger than his *faith*, Gen. xv. 19; xxi. 12, (Dr. Allestree's Sermons, I. 50. 1684), which was thus made perfect, James ii. 22, 23; Gen. xv. 6, xxii. 12.

§ 8. St. Paul does not doubt that, had Abraham failed in *obedience*, he would have lost his justification; but shows that his *faith* (and that only) was the justifying principle.

§ 8. St. James does not doubt that Abraham was justified by (*ἐκ* or *διὰ*) *his faith*; but shows that Abraham's faith was not accepted *without trial*, from which it (being sound) emerged triumphantly, i. 3.

§ 9. If this tabulated comparison be accurate . . of the three leading terms here common to both apostles—*faith, works, justified*—the last alone bears the same sense in both. As to the second, some one may urge, that St. Paul, denies the *meritorious* acceptance of the *Christian* works required by St. James; he does, (and St. James, no doubt, did so too, ii. 23,)—but he denies them as *instrumental to justification*, St. James requires them as *evidential to faith*, . . so that this term does *not* bear the same sense in both.

St. James, ii. 18, says that, of two existences, the demand to infer the *unseen* from the *seen* would be more reasonable, than to rest *both* on unsupported affirmation, asserting the *unseen from the unseen*; and 19, that, (were this all) the very *dæmons* might advance as valid a plea in their own behalf.

§ 10. St. Paul's doctrine, we may be sure, was taught by all the rest; on misconception of that doctrine, was based the error (or the calumny) which called for the animadversion of St. James. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 5—10; 1 John iii. 7—10.

§ 11. St. Paul strenuously inculcates the inseparable importance of Christian practice, Rom. vi. 22; xii. 9—xiii. 14; Tit. ii. 7; 1 Tim. i. 5; Eph. ii. 10; v. 9; vi. 8; Col. i. 10; 1 Cor. xiii. 1; Gal. v. 6. He even sets (Christian) Charity above Faith, 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3, 13, because, *built on Faith*, it—recoils from sin, 1 John, iii. 9; v. 18, and—is the fulfilling of Law, Rom. xiii. 10. . . See an excellent sermon by Bishop Van Mildert, at Lincoln's Inn, upon 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

§ 11. St. James, ii. 22, 23, vindicates the undeniable prerogative of that lively faith which prompts and sanctifies good works; the sole office he assigns to these, being to demonstrate its unfeigned integrity, by its glad, grateful, and duteous homage.

§ 12. Heb. xi. 6, taken together with xii. 14, embraces the entire matter. A right understanding of it, is indispensable; see the quota-

tion from Coleridge, in Mr. Trench's most serviceable volume on the Parables, 291. 1844. 2nd edition.

§ 13. The *last-but-one*, *last-but-two*, and *last-but-three* of the following correspondences, may *possibly* be thought conclusive that St. James "had his eye upon"—wholly different from "had an eye to"—the Epistle to the Romans*; parts of which, most probably, the early Solifidians claimed as their strong-hold. The *remainder*, I think, either were inevitable in treating the subject, or (as the fifth and the last) are too slender for proof. It is nothing wonderful that the battle should be fought on the case of the *Father of the Faithful*; the representative of Judaism, as Rahab is of those without its pale.

Rom. iii. 28

James, ii. 24, 26.

„ x. 9.

„ 14.

„ iv. 2.

„ 21.

„ 3; Gal. iii. 6.

„ 23.

„ ii. 13; (*Mat.* vii. 24—26; *Luc.* vi. 47—49.) James, i. 22.

„ v. 3. (*Heb.* xii. 5—11.)

„ i. 2—4.

„ vii. 23. (*1 Pet.* ii. 11.)

„ iv. 1.

„ viii. 7.

„ 4.

„ xiv. 4.

„ iv. 12.

§ 14. The imagination of a discrepance, originated partly from supposing (not Faith, but) Justification to be the main subject in James ii. 14—26; and partly from inattention to the Articles in 14, 17, where they may be strictly rendered - - "can *his* faith," *i. e.* that which he professes to have . . "your faith," *i. e.* that which ye profess to have.

We might also render, 20. "*thy* faith without *its* works"; 22. "*his* faith - - and by *its* works was *his* faith"; . . but it will suffice to consider the articles in 20, 22, strongly antithetic, as in 26.

* Whether he had or not, is not of the smallest consequence, for assuredly—as hinted in the above sentence—St. James did not write to correct that which had been written by St. Paul. *μία γὰρ ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὥσπερ διδασκαλία, οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ παράδοσις.* Clem. Alex. Strom. VII. 900.

THE NINTH ARTICLE.

Before undertaking to comment upon the article itself, I shall seize the opportunity afforded me, to observe that its pointed denouncement of the Pelagians* strengthens a conjecture that, in the immediately ensuing extract, the word *Arminian*† was intended to be substituted. “The Scripture is appealed to with confidence by both the *Pelagian* (Arminian) and the Calvinist, and both are confuted from the same book. The formularies of the Church of England are appealed to with equal confidence by both classes of religionists; and nothing, perhaps, can more fully prove the Scriptural nature of its services, than the same result to both of these contending parties - - Both are right in their premises, both are wrong in their conclusions; because both exclude a great part of the truth, to favour a preconceived hypothesis.” (Mr. Canon Town-

* Mr. Faber has shown that Baxter’s device for steering a middle course—since known by the name of *Baxterianism*, something like it had been held by Archbishop Catharin (one of the Tridentine divines) and by John Cameron, whose works were collected, Genev. 1659. folio—is but a strongly disguised Pelagianism. Mr. Faber on Election, I. v. 52, 1842. Consult Hooker’s Answer to the “Christian Letter,” ii. 546, 547. of Mr. Keble’s second edition, 1841.

† The last conspicuous instance of Arminianism—properly so called—in England, was the late Bishop Marsh; whose famous *Eighty-seven Questions*, 1821, met with nothing but discountenance.

How our church is at issue with the Arminians, may be read (I believe) in Dr. Nicholls’ *Defensio Ecclesie Anglicanæ*, 1712 duod. which was likewise translated by himself in 1730 oct. See also Dr. Gl. Ridley’s Letters, III. 97. 1768. It is to their immortal honour, that, without that *pseudo-liberality* which is at heart indifference, from their ranks stood forth the first assertors of an impartial liberty; Calvinism seeking but the destruction of one despotism, to enthrone another in its room.

send upon Acts xiii. 48.) The venerable compilers, to use their own sagacious words upon another subject, judged it expedient, "*not so muche to haue respecte howe to please & satisfye eyther of these parties, as howe to please God & profite them bothe.*" *Of Ceremonies*, prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer. (Whitchurche, 1549.)

How closely the article speaks the language of the Bible, may be seen in Dr. Hey, IV. ix. § 23 and § 31, 1822. Its unexampled temperance of statement, compared with the Augsburg and other confessions, is dwelt upon in Bishop Cleaver's Sermons, pages 170, 1808.

IX. OF ORIGINAL OR BIRTH SIN.

Original Sin standeth not in the following ⁽¹⁾ *of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk); but it is the fault and corruption of the nature* ⁽²⁾ *of every man, that naturally* ⁽³⁾ *is ingendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone* ⁽⁴⁾ *from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always* ⁽⁵⁾ *contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth* ⁽⁶⁾ *God's wrath and damnation* ⁽⁷⁾. *And this infection of nature doth remain* ⁽⁸⁾ *: yea, in them that are regenerated: whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek, φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation* ⁽⁹⁾ *for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin* ⁽¹⁰⁾.

NOTES TO THE NINTH ARTICLE.

(¹) *following*: the Latin is *imitatione*, (Augustin de Nat. et Grat. 9. A.D. 415)*. If the Pelagian view were correct, . . . children, not having committed any sin, would not be objects of the Divine displeasure; compare Gen. viii. 21, Ps. li. 5. lviii. 3. cvi. 6, Eph. ii. 3 (a text which combines original and actual sin), Rom. v. 12.

(²) *of the nature*:—as again below—*i.e.* not merely the defect of a superadded, unessential, ornament; which is the scholastic theory. Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, 55. 66. 1838. Neither is it merely the *imputation* of Adam's transgression, Archbishop Laurence's Vindication, II. 93, 94. 1827.

Mr. Southey describes it to be, . . . "an original taint in human nature, a radical infirmity, an innate and congenital disease, to the existence whereof the heart of every one, who dares to look into his own, bears unwilling, but unerring testimony." Book of the Church, ch. x. page 179. 1840. For its general recognition among the heathen, see Jablonski's Opuscula, IV. 483—498. 1813.

The doctrine parts itself into two branches: (1.) the state of guilt and condemnation in which all are placed by the Protoplast's offence—till countervailed by *Justification* through the blood of Christ, . . Rom. v. 12—21; and (2.) the pravity of nature, and proneness to evil, derived from Adam to all his posterity—neutralised by *Sanctification* of the Holy Ghost, . . Rom. vii. 5—23.

Men have always laboured to find no support in Scripture for these two positions. Yet—with less apparent reasonableness—in particular families, we daily see an innocent and remote offspring inherit bodily or mental malady†; and by our own statutes, corruption of blood follows attain of treason, . . not merely for the heinousness of the crime, but on the ground that men fearless of life and limb, will yet shrink from forfeiting their children's welfare.

(³) *naturally*: Christ's birth was *supernatural*. The codicil at

* So the authorised version has *followers*, in Eph. v. 1 (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 21).—"But there is something previous to the *imitating* of God, and more acceptable to him, which is *obeying* him; otherwise the duties of the First Table would be set behind the Second." Waterland, v. 462.

† In all the three cases—moral, bodily, mental—we must understand not *essential properties*, but *defects*, of that original integrity of nature in which man was first made.

Trent, session V. 1546, "*Declarat tamen hæc ipsa sancta Synodus, non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam*"—seems expressly to exempt the Virgin, but was really framed to avoid a decision which must have offended either the Franciscans or the Dominicans; see § 13 of Hooker's Answer to Travers. Her Immaculate Conception had been affirmed at Basle, session XXXVI.; and in 1476, Pope Sixtus IV. assigned particular indulgences to its annual celebration.

(⁴) *very far gone*. Total depravity, which is the condition of the daemons, would have been expressed in the Latin by *prorsus**, the word actually used by Calvin in his Inst. II. 5. 19; and *quàm longissimè* is not absolute but relative, . . . implying strong moral difficulty, but not moral incapacity. For instance—I request the reader's indulgence for the illustration, which indeed is not of the doctrine, but of the words in which the doctrine is conveyed—a sheep having its tether at full stretch is *quàm longissimè*, but not *prorsus*, away from its peg; and wine may be largely diluted with water, without wholly ceasing to be wine. (The vulgar argument, that the man who is a mile out of London, is *not in London at all*, is disposed of by replying that he is at least nearer the metropolis, and more within its influence, than if he were at the Land's End.) The expression in our daily General Confession, *no health in us*, is explained by the second collect in Lent and the first after Trinity, and by *healthful* in the prayer for the Clergy and people; see also Ps. xxii. 1, cxix. 123 in the Prayer-book, and Ps. xlii. 11 in the Bible.

"*Every man living*," says Dr. Barrow, serm. 27, "*hath stamped on him the venerable image of his glorious Maker, which nothing incident to him can utterly deface*†." Thus also Barrow speaks in § 5 of his 26th sermon, . . . "*Man having received his soul from the breath of God, and being formed after the image of his most benign Parent, there do yet abide in him some features resembling God, and relicks of the divine original*." To the same effect, is the close of a paragraph in the seventh of his sermons on the Creed.

Retinet tamen, licet tanto lapsu attonita, mens umbram aliquam et confusas veluti species amissi boni, et cognata semina cæli. Archbishop Leighton's 2nd Prælectio.

Non usque adeo, in animâ humanâ, imago Dei terrenorum affectuum

* Accordingly in 1643—see note (¹⁰) below—this was changed into *is wholly deprived of*. Abp. Laurence's Lectures, 197.

† The first passage from Barrow; that from Leighton, and the two from Augustin, . . . have already been adduced by Bishop Jebb.

labe detrita est, ut nulla in eâ velut lineamenta extrema remanserint. Augustin, de Spiritu et Lit. 28. A.D. 413.

Hujusmodi homines [gentes, scil.] *ipsi sibi sunt lex, et scriptum opus legis habent in cordibus suis; id est, non omni modo deletum est, quod ibi, per imaginem Dei, cùm crearentur, impressum est.* Augustin, *ibid**.

Τῶν ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄμοιρος ἀρετῆς, οὐδ' ὁ πᾶν πονηρός· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄμοιρος κακίας, οὐδ' ὁ πᾶν ἀγαθός. (Matthai has unaccountably omitted to point out Hentenius' gross mistranslation of this.) Euthymius Zigabenus upon Luke xvi. 25; compare Thomson's Castle of Indolence, II. 38.

"Tis too true, that the nature of man is sadly corrupted and depraved; but not so bad, as by vicious practices and habits it may be made; - - an unregenerate man is not necessarily as bad as possible; no more than it is necessary to a regenerate state that a man be perfectly good: so that it is a great mistake to argue the common condition of all mankind, from the descriptions that are given in the Scripture of the worst of men." Abp. Tillotson, Sermon. 107. being his second upon Gal. vi. 15.

"St. Paul is better authority than even the Homilies, excellent as they usually are; and their language on this point has no counterpart in his writings. I do not find him declare the consequence of the Fall in terms like these: Man, instead of the image of God, was now become the image of the devil - - insomuch, that he now seemed to be nothing else but a lump of sin. Hom. on the Nativity (357. 1840). Man is of his own nature - - without any spark of goodness in him, only given to evil thoughts and evil deeds. Hom. on Whitsunday, part i. (p. 410. 1840)." Bishop J. B. Sumner's Apostolical Preaching, ch. iii. 1832. See Rom. vii. 22, 23.

"It is most certain that man, even in his fallen state, before a single individual of the race had returned to God, was the object of God's favourable regard."

In addition to these passages the reader will like to acquaint himself with the information furnished in Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, 64. 1838.

* "The Law of Nature and of Right Reason imprinted in their hearts (Rom. ii. 15) . . is as truly the Law and Word of God"—he calls it just before a principal *relique of His decayed image in us*—"as is that which is printed in our Bibles. So long as our actions are warranted either by the one or the other, we cannot be said to want the warrant of God's Word: *Nec differt Scripturâ an ratione consistat*, saith Tertullian de Coronâ Militis, 4." Bishop Sanderson's sermon (ad Clerum iv.) upon Rom. xiv. 23, § 9.

According to a report in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 14 Aug. 1841, a clergyman not unaccustomed to appearances in public, declared at a public meeting, amidst "*tremendous bursts of applause*," that he "subscribed heart and hand to everything contained in the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies." Nothing can be more earnestly to be deprecated than assertions such as these, because none can possibly be more injurious to the character of our Church, whatever they may be to the individual who is unthinking enough to use them. No *considerate Protestant* will sanction the terming marriage to be a *sacrament* (p. 64), or the Apocrypha to be *Scripture*, (pp. 216. 220. 346. 1840, . . . I do not cite passages which at first glance appear stronger, because in them quotations of genuine and spurious books are so mingled, as to admit of a reference to Scripture, injudicious indeed, but not untrue); and no *wise man* will subscribe to five or six hundred pages more than is called for. Upon moot points, no honest man will teach *less*, no conscientious man will teach *more*, than is taught in the documents to which his hand is set; he may have excellent—even though they be erroneous—reasons for declining to subscribe, he can have none—at least none that will bear examination—for doing violence to the terms of his subscription; . . . its very purpose "being to secure in certain matters, uniformity of public worship and of public instruction, that the devout religionist may find, in any corner of the realm, opportunity to fulfil his duty, without fear of having faith perverted or pious feelings outraged³."

* Charles I.—whose theological papers at Newcastle with Henderson, and at the Isle of Wight, deserve to be better known—submitted a manuscript prayer to one of the most distinguished ministers, who, after (as he well might) censuring it as abominable, found it to be an extemporaneous effusion of his own, taken down by the king some weeks before. Compare South's two sermons upon Eccl. v. 2. (To South, i. 426. 1823, add Dr. Gloucester Ridley's Moyer Lectures, iv. note ²²; and for Weir, see Sir Walter Scott's Demonology.)

The anonymous but friendly author of *An Account of the last Hours of the late Renowned Oliver Lord Protector, wherein you have his frame of Spirit, expressed in his Dying Words, upon his Death-bed. Together with his last Prayer.* 1659 (in the British Museum, the writer was Underwood, groom of his bedchamber)—affords us, in pages 4 and 6, "a taste" of "the wonderful insight hee had attained unto, and clearness in the Covenant of Grace - - as it was taken from himself on his death-bed."

"*Whatsoever sins thou hast, doest, or shalt commit, if you lay hold upon free Grace you are safe.*" The *doest or shalt*, in connection with *whatsoever*, scarcely bear out the accompanying commentary, . . . "He did not mean that it was safe to sin, no, the laying hold of the Covenant implies Faith and Repentance, which the Gospel requires, with new Obedience." Compare a dialogue with a solidian in Southey's *Wesley*, ch. 24. (II. 318, octavo.)

(5). "Take this proposition, as all propositions *morally universal* are to be taken; as meaning that a natural principle of evil still subsists in *all* men, and that ~~all~~ evil thoughts and desires do *frequently* arise in the hearts of the best men, and *almost perpetually* in the hearts of bad ones; and our own consciousness and experience will convince us of the truth of it. And, indeed, was it not for the intervention of the Divine Grace, more general and powerful, perhaps, than we are aware of, the effects of this depravation might be as bad as they were in the antediluvian world, when 'every imagination of the thoughts of the heart of man, was only evil continually.' Gen. vi. 5." Archdeacon Tottie's Charge, 1772. p. 381. of his Sermons, 1775.

(6). *deserveth*. For the comparative gentleness of this, consult Archbishop Laurence, 260. 1838; and his Vindication, II. 141. 1827.

(7). *damnation*: i.e. *condemnation, judgement*, as in the Communion Office and 1 Cor. xi. 29, 30.

Bishop Hooper's third sermon upon Jonah, folio l. 1550, rebukes whoso "*for lucre or affectiō damneth hym the law quytteth*;" so again in his fourth sermon, folio lxxxvii. *verso*. Thomas Wyndham, of Felbrigg, Knt. in his will, 22 Oct. 1521, desires to be buried "*without dampnable pomp, or superfluities*."—Sir N. H. Nicolas' Testamenta Vetusta, II. 581. 1826.

That thou and I be damned to prisoun.

Chaucer's Palamon and Arcite, 1177.

Our wary reformers declined the *mortem æternam* of the Augsburg and Saxon confessions. Archbishop Laurence, 260.

(8). *doth remain*: Gal. v. 17. Our present state is probationary; and, though graciously strengthened to vanquish, we are not yet enabled to destroy.

(9). *no condemnation*: Rom. viii. 1; John iii. 18.

Lady Fairfax relates that Cromwell, as death drew nigh, asked of his chaplain, Dr. Goodwin, if it were true that the elect can never suffer a final reprobation? and was answered, *Nothing is more certain*. "*If so, I am safe; for I know that I once was in a state of grace -- Yes, I am safe.*" Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell and his Children, iii. 236-242 (also 214-220). 1816. In No. 236 of Leslie's *Rehearsal, a View of the Times*, (2nd edit. 1750. VI. duod.) this is told on the authority of Dr. Bates, the Protector's physician.

Luther sometimes spoke in a way much to be regretted; see Dr. W. H. Mill's valuable sermons on The Temptation, 170. 1844. Very different is the language of Cranmer, Latimer, and Luther himself, in Abp. Laurence's Lectures, 384, 385. 365. 1838.

(¹⁰). *hath of itself the nature of*: the reference is to Rom. vii. 7. Not being sin, properly so called, unless the will concur. "The knowledge or thought of evil, is not evil; it is not what you know, but what you *consent to*." Whichcote's Aphorisms, 841. 1753. "The Calvinistic Assembly of Divines in their abortive attempt (1643) at remodelling the Articles to more manifest conformity with their adopted system, changed these words into *is truly and properly*, . . . thereby indisputably attempting that, which had been previously considered and rejected by our Reformers." Archbishop Laurence, 68.*

We cannot suppose, "that either the Apostle, or the compilers of the Articles, meant that the natural affections and appetites, directed to their proper objects, and moving in their proper sphere, must necessarily raise in us sinful desires, by which alone they become sinful in themselves. Concupiscence begets *evil desires*; and evil desires must proceed from an *evil principle*. We must interpret the Article as we do the tenth commandment." Archdeacon Tottie, p. 380.

* The same studied moderation appears at the close of the Thirteenth Article. (This last, without in the least confounding Right and Wrong, states that such works—so done—possess not of themselves any *acceptability* in God's eyes, . . . and the very next article quotes Luke xvii. 10. *Vitavi denique culpam, non laudem merui*. Horat. ad Pison. 267. *Thinke not thy love to God merits God's love to thee: His acceptance of thy duty, crowns his own gifts in thee: Man's love to God is nothing but a faint reflection of God's love to man*. Francis Quarles' Enchiridion century iii. § 95. 1658.)

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

Previously to entering upon this most celebrated article, the masterpiece of those pious confessors and martyrs who carried out the English Reformation, it is most especially needful to premise, . . . that much of the abstruseness—which, from the mind's pre-occupation with various conflicting theories, is supposed to be inherent in it—will entirely be swept away, if we attend to the simple meaning in which it applies the two terms which form its title. For Calvin's tremendous dogma (*Inst. III. 23. 7*) which, in his own language (*Inst. III. 23. 1*), makes the reprobate perish *for no other reason* than its being the divine pleasure* to exclude them from the inheritance of His children, consult Dr. Gloucester Ridley's Letters, III. 68–77, 82, 1768†. GOD, more wisely wrote our old Reformers in 1543, “*is naturally good, & willeth al men to be saued, and careth for them, & prouideth all thyng by whyche they may be saued, excepte by their owne malice they wol be euyl, and so by rightuous iudgement of God peryshe and be loste. For truly men be to theym selues the sauours of syn and damnation. God is neyther autour of synne, nor the cause of damnation.*”

Until the time of Calvin, who presumed, in an unhappy hour, to alter its received signification, the word PREDESTINATE

* How alien such notions are from the style of inspiration, and even of the Jewish Church, may be understood from pages 217–219 and 363–374 of Bishop Jebb's *Sacred Literature*, 1831; consult also Ezek. xviii. 19–32. Not a few of our ablest divines during the seventeenth century—Hales, Ussher, More, Sanderson, Tillotson, are but a portion of the list;

οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι πόνους ἦσαν τότε, καὶ μέγα χρέμα γιγάντων.

Telecleides apud Athen. vi. 268. (compare George III. in Boswell.)—

had been trained in predestinarian tenets, and flung off the fetters.

† Born on board the Gloucester East-Indiaman in 1702, died in Nov. 1774.—His son wrote the *Tales of the Genii*, finished only just before his decease, Feb. 1765.

—in exact agreement with its use in the New Testament, Rom. viii. 29, 30, Eph. i. 5 to 11, (in the Old Testament it occurs not once)—was employed only of them that should, as faithful servants, enter into the joy of their Lord*.

The Romanists, however,—I shall gladly borrow the perspicuous statement of Bishop Copleston—"taught a predestination founded on foreseen good works or merit, while the first Reformers, rejecting this with abhorrence, held a predestination which was equivalent to fatalism. This error, however, as they advanced in the knowledge of the Scriptures, was by degrees abandoned; and a doctrine more truly Scriptural succeeded; that of predestination through Christ of all those who should build their faith on him†."

The first consequence of predestination, is an ELECTION of certain individuals, out of the great mass of the Gentiles and of the Jews, into the pale of the visible church in this world, with the object and intention of their obtaining eternal happiness hereafter, but still with the full moral possibility (through their own perverseness) of their not attaining it. Its *moving cause* was solely the good pleasure of God's merciful, though absolute and uncontrollable, sovereignty; and St. Paul, addressing *all* the Ephesian and *all* the Colossian converts as *elect*, makes the *church* and the *elect* perfectly commensurate. Compare Hooker's Disc. of Justif. § 7‡.

The true character of the Article, is accordingly presented,

* Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, 145, 1838.

This volume by the late Archbishop of Cashel, whose long and blameless life was closed 28 Dec. 1838, reflects more light upon the composition and meaning of our Articles, than—the Bible being, of course, excepted—all others put together.

† From the valuable appendix, 181–219, to Bishop Copleston's first work on Necessity, 1821.—We shall find that incomparable advantage will accrue, if we accustomably discriminate between *predestination*, *predestinate* and *predestinarianism*, *predestinarian*.

‡ See 111–126. of Illustrations of the Doctr. &c. of Ch. of England, 1840, duod.

with great happiness of expression, by Archbishop Laurence, in saying that it teaches a predestination, *which the Christian religion explains and the Christian life exemplifies**.

How rigorously its wording adheres to Scripture, may be seen in Dr. Winchester's Dissertation, 20-26. 1803 (1808); to be compared with Dr. Hey, IV. 17. § 32. 1822.

* Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, 156. 159. 164. 187. 1838. Eph. i. 4, &c. ii. 10.

XVII. OF PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ⁽¹⁾ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour⁽²⁾. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season⁽³⁾: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely⁽⁴⁾: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously⁽⁵⁾ in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly⁽⁶⁾ consideration of Predestination, and our Election⁽⁷⁾ in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working⁽⁸⁾ of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things; as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their⁽⁹⁾ faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their⁽⁹⁾ love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination⁽¹⁰⁾, is a most dangerous downfall⁽¹¹⁾, whereby the Devil does thrust them either into desperation, or into recklessness⁽¹²⁾ of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive⁽¹³⁾ God's Promises in such wise, as they be generally⁽¹⁴⁾ set forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God⁽¹⁵⁾.

NOTES TO THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

(¹). *in Christ*. It is of moment to note that these two words are an addition, made in 1562, to the passage as originally drawn; the purpose of their insertion being manifestly to shut out, if it were possible, the very smallest chance of misunderstanding; . . . so that no one might imagine that the article countenanced, by even the very remotest implication, the fearful doctrine of arbitrary decrees; against which it enters repeated protests in those parts to which notes ⁷, ⁹, ¹⁰, are attached.

(²). *vessels made to honour*. See 2 Tim. ii. 16–21.

Those who in the Article before us see only an adamantine Calvinism, and forget that it was drawn up according to Melancthon's wish (if not at his very instigation, Abp. Laurence, 226. 374. 198) to keep out Calvin's dogmas, and by persons who had rejected Calvin's proffered aid (*ibid.* 43. 145. 210. Dr. Winchester's Dissert. p. 40), . . . will read with some surprise the following passages of Arminius himself, who was born 1560 and died 1609. *Prædestinatio - - est Decretum Beneplaciti Dei in Christo, quo apud se ab æterno statuit fideles - - vitâ æternâ donare.—Fideles autem dicimus, non qui tales propriis meritis aut viribus erant futuri, sed qui Dei beneficio gratuito et peculiari in Christum erant credituri.* Disp. Publ. XV. §§ 2. 7. p. 227 of Arminii Opera, Francof. 1631. qu. = pp. 153, 155. Lugd. Bat. 1610.

(³). *due season*. This might be thought to mean “bestowed upon each”—Ps. ix. 9, in the Prayer-book, has “a refuge in *due* time of trouble;”—but the original Latin *opportuno*, instead of *præfinito* or even *suo*, justifies Archbishop Laurence's interpreting it “a proper, [or suitable] or favourable, period,” . . . *i.e.* when (and when only, in the case of adults) it can prove effectual, by the co-operation of man's will*. Archbishop Laurence, 172.

(⁴). *freely*†: *i.e.* of His mere mercy, see page 25 of the Homily of Salvation, and part ii. page 15 of that Of the Misery of Man, 1840;

* In *when we have that good will* at the close of the Eleventh Article, “when” is used in its sense of *while*; the Latin being *dum* (which our Reformers preferred to the *quum* of Aug. de Grat. et Lib. Arbr. 33).—See Archbishop Laurence, 101 &c.

† The Latin is *gratis*.—Of the Pelagian tenet *gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari*, Augustin says, . . . *hoc est gratiam non esse gratiam, quia ideo gratia vocatur quòd gratis datur.* De Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. 5. 21. A.D. 426.

and the foregoing remarks on justification in these pages. Melancthon's expression, *Ut doceat nos causam electionis esse non nostram dignitatem, sed Christum; ne remoto Christo et Evangelio de Electione cogitemus, sed causam electionis in promissione Christi queramus.* (*Loci Theologici*, cap. de *Prædest.* Opera * I. 258 verso), tallies precisely with *Ne viribus nostris geri credamus quæ gratuitâ Dei beneficentiâ et infinitâ bonitate indulgentur*, in cap. 22 de Hæres. of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. (It is to be hoped that a new edition of this work—which in many parts is a contemporary paraphrase of our Articles, for, though first published by direction of Archbishop Parker 1571, it had been drawn up under Cranmer's eye—with collations of the precious MSS. in the British Museum, will be included in the highly valuable series republished by the Oxford Delegates. I am informed that portions of it may be tracked in the *De Regno Christi*, or some other of Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, Basle, 1577.)

(⁵). *walk religiously.* Not as exempt from human infirmity, but by habitual endeavour; Heb. xiii. 18.

(⁶). *godly: i.e.* not absolute or irrespective, but with respect to faith in Christ working by love. (Page 97 of the chapters from John Playfere's *appello Evangelium*, 1653, reprinted with a preface by Bishop Van Mildert, in Number V. of the "Churchman's Remembrancer," 1806.)

At the second Hampton Conference (180 of Dr. Cardwell's *Conferences*, 2nd edit. 1841), Baneroft observed that "we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*," which accords with Melancthon's phrase à *posteriore* (*Loci Theologici*, 258. apud Abp. Laurence, 271.) so rudely assailed in Calvin's *Inst.* III. 24. 3.—"In describing predestination and the effects of it, the Article orderly begins with the cause and proceeds to the effects: but then it teaches us from the effects to infer the cause. We must feel in ourselves the working of the spirit of Christ, before the consideration of our election in him can give us comfort." Dr. Gloucester Ridley's *Letters*, III. 64, 65 (quoting Bishop Hall's sermon upon 2 Pet. i. 10), and II. 161, 1768. Compare also

* Melancthon's Works were published by the amiable Peucer, Witteb. 1562–1564. IV. folio; again, at the same place, 1601. V. folio; and are reprinting by Bretschneider, Halle 1834. qu. Luther's Latin Works were printed with a preface by Melancthon, Witteb. 1550–1552. VII. folio; with the German works as well, by Walch at Halle, 1740–1752. XXIV. qu. Le Clerc edited the collected works of Erasmus, Lugd. Bat. 1703–1706. X. in XI. folio. Majansius those of Lud. Vives, Valentia, 1782. VIII. qu. The excellent Cardinal Sadolet's were printed, Verona, 1737–1738. IV. qu.

Bishop Latimer's sermon for Septuagesima, 1552, in Dr. Winchester's Dissertation, 64, 66. 1803 (1808)*

(⁷). *our election*: this means as Christians generally. The Latin here is slightly ambiguous; but the English proves that, in the framers' intention, *nostræ* was quite unconnected with *prædestinationis* (which is thus represented as relating *generally* to the purpose of redemption by Christ), but belongs solely to *electionis*, which, by the very meaning of the term, is necessarily applied to a particular class visibly in possession of certain privileges.

(⁸). *the working*: i.e. the influence; not merely the Spirit—for that might be the delusion of our own imagination—but its effects.

(⁹). *their (bis)*. The Latin is *nostram*—*nostrum*, meaning collectively in a religious, and not *theirs* individually in a personal capacity; or, in other words, not as individuals, but as *Christians*, in a character common to us all, and one to which alone confidence in eternal salvation is attached. (Archbishop Laurence, 175.) If I may pretend to offer an opinion, I should say that *their* was adopted for the English edition, in order to put before the reader or hearer, in strong and unmistakeable relief, the *qualities* implied in the words *such as feel - - things*; indeed, our idiom might alone account for the change.

(¹⁰). *God's predestination*. It is again most essential to observe, that neither "in Christ" nor "by Christ" is here said; see note (¹) above, and Dr. Winchester's Dissertation, 51. 81. 1803 (1808).

"The bare and naked sentence; that very decree itself" which is expressed in the first of the Lambeth Articles†, "*That God hath pre-*

* "Hope follows the nature of Faith; and such as the *faith* is, such is the *hope*: Both must be *in Domino*, in the Lord; or neither can be true." Archbishop Laud's serm. 24. March, 1621. εἰ Χριστὸν ὁρῶν τρέχεις, καλῶς τρέχεις, καὶ κατὰ τινεῖς ὁδὸν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τι σπεύδων βλέπεις, εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην σπεύδεις. Nicephorus Chumnus (father-in-law to the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus) in Villoison's *Anecdota Græca*, 72. 1781. folio.

† The *nine assertions orthodoxall* of 20 Nov. 1595, the first grand effort to make Calvinism the accredited doctrine of the Church of England. The best account of them is in the fourth book of Strype's *Whitgift*, and the Appendix to Elis's *Articulorum XXXIX. Defensio*, Amst. 1709. duod.; consult also the end of Hooker's Answer to the "Christian Letter," and page cii. of Mr. Keble's preface to his works, 1841. The Dordt Articles are given from Tilenus, in Heylin's *Quinqu. History*, I. vi. 7 (with his *Misc. Tracts*, 1681.)

A profligate land-grave of Thuringia—who, like Tiberius, was *persuasionis plenus omnia fato agi*, Sueton. Tib. 9—replied to his friends' remonstrances, "*Si prædestinatus sum, nulla peccata poterunt mihi regnum cælorum auferre; si præscitus,*

destinated some men to Life, and hath reprobated some to Death, without any mention or consideration of Christ, of Faith, of God's Prescience or any other of his attributes." (Playfere, 101. 1806.)

"The *sentence*, therefore, of Predestination, without reference to the *manner* of it, is a downfall; but the *manner* of it, our being *chosen in Christ*, is the fountain of all comfort and hope, and godliness." (Playfere, 103. 1806.)

Consult 1 Thess. v. 9; 2 Thess. ii. 13.

(¹¹). *downfall*: expresses a "sheer descent," in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, III. 101 of Dodsley's Old Plays by Collier, 1825.

(¹²). *recklessness*. Thus the word is spelled in all the old copies; modern printers, instead of inserting the *t* and then completing the corruption by prefixing the *w*, should have contented themselves with converting the *h* into *k*. The word comes from the Anglo-Saxon *reccen*, . . . whence also we arrive at the English *rake*: there are few such undoubted instances of the *lucus à non lucendo*. The *t* began, however, to be inserted at an earlier period—

I left my native soile, full like a retchlesse man.

Geo. Turbervile's Letters in verse, concerning Russia
in Hakluyt's Voyages.

The word itself appears to refer more especially to "carnal," and the word *desperation* to "curious." The reader will find some frightful extracts in Archbishop Laud's Remains by Wharton, I. 503, 1695. British Critic, XXIII, 131, 133. 1838; and in the renowned *Fur Prædestinatus*, translated for Rivingtons, 1814.

(¹³). *receive*: i.e. embrace, *amplecti*.

(¹⁴). *generally*: meaning *generically* in opposition to individually; not "for the most part" as opposed to "unusually," for in that case the Latin would be "*plerumque*" instead of *generaliter*. The resemblance of this closing sentence to Melancthon's *Prodest piis tenere quod promissio sit universalis, nec debemus de voluntate Dei aliter judicare, quàm juxta verbum revelatum* (*Opera*, IV. 499) is too explicit to be casual. The parallel passage in our *Reformatio*, de Hæres. cap. 22, has . . . *et promissiones bonis, et minas malis, in sacris Scripturis*

nulla opera mihi illud valebunt conferre. An objection, adds Heylin (I. iv. 10), not more old than common; but such, I must confess, to which I never found a satisfactory answer from the pen of supralapsarian or sublapsarian within the small compass of my reading." The same presumptuous argument is forcibly stated in Dean Tucker's Sermons, 40. 1776.

generaliter propositas; and Seckendorf, book ii. sect. 43. § 5. 1694, quotes *generalis promissio* from Luther. Compare Archbishop Laurence, 359. 374. 384. 1838; and Calvin's own opinions in 1535, *apud* Abp. Laurence, 347.

The misapprehension of what was intended by *generally*, has produced another, in causing the conclusion of the paragraph to be looked upon as a *caveat* rather than an *exhortation*. Beautifully does it, at once, guard hope from presumption, and practice from carelessness. God has made promises to His church at large, insisting upon personal holiness; the individual Christian therefore is so to walk, as to make his election sure, instead of forfeiting the privileges of his calling (2 Pet. i. 10). He must *strive* to press onward* in his conflict, (2 Tim. iv. 7; 2 Cor. x. 4; 1 Tim. i. 18,) knowing well, that the crown will be refused to no faithful soldier, and that, when won (1 Pet. v. 4), it is not given to his own desert, but for the sake of Christ the only Saviour. For, as "*without Faith it is impossible to please God*," so also does the same authority assure us, that "*without Holiness shall no man see the Lord*." (Heb. xi. 6, xii. 14.) Consult also Abp. Laurence, 375.

(¹⁵). The leading positions of the Seventeenth Article, are then briefly these seven :—

(1) God, of His mere pleasure, hath predestined unto life in Christ persons elected into His church; (2) who walking according to His Spirit shall by His mercy attain Heaven. (3) All Christians are elect; and, if they do heartily obey the Spirit's guidance, may humbly trust—or joyfully hope—to be predestinate. (4) Condemning the unscriptural notion of God's arbitrary predestination—*i. e.* irrespective of Christ—it implies that such as reject the grace of Christ perish by their own default, and not by divine predetermination; (5) nothing is expressly said in it of those to whom the Gospel has not been made known, . . . whose case comes under the Eighteenth Article, which we have already had occasion to consider in these pages. (6) God's promises are to Christ's church; (7) the individual members whereof must pursue the prescript paths of His will†.

* *Quamdiu vivimus, in certamine sumus, et quamdiu in certamine, nulla certa est victoria.* Hieron. adv. Pelag. II. 2. *Qui perseveraverit usque ad finem, hic salvus erit; quicquid ante finem fuerit, gradus est, quo ad fastigium salutis ascenditur, non terminus quo jam culminis summa teneatur, &c.* Cyprian de Unit. Eccl. See Ps. lxxxiv. 5-7.

The issue of a struggle may be manifest to a bystander, long before it is perceived by the combatants.

† "That eternal election - - notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did

Should any, who have carefully weighed the foregoing annotations, be of opinion—an opinion, I perhaps need not say, much at variance with my own—that the Seventeenth Article was designed to *determine nothing*, . . . I will submit further a few words, abridged from Dr. Waterland's Works, II. 390. The use of it may yet be great, . . . (1) As preventing any suspicion of our church running in with the *Gospel-lers* on one hand, or the *Pelagians* * on the other. (2) It is special and determinate against the opinion of Samuel Huber—Mosheim, Cent. XVI. pt. 2. ch. i. § 44.—who taught an universal election (which in reality is no *election*), and that all men by the death of Christ were brought into the state of grace and salvation. The Article confines itself to those that believe in Christ, and live up to that belief, persevering to the end. (3) It is so likewise against the opinion fathered upon Origen that all, even wicked men and devils, shall at last be received to mercy; and further, against the Socinians, who deny God's *foreknowledge* of future *contingency*† and admit no *special* predestination from all *eternity*. There may be other false opinions particularly condemned by it; but these are enough to show its use, even though we should concede that it pronounces nothing as to the main points between Calvinists and Arminians.

A connected and popular view of the cognate Articles, will be found in the eleventh and twelfth of Bishop Van Mildert's posthumous sermons.

intend; and therefore to build upon God's election if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity." Hooker V. 60. 3.

* See Hooker's Answer to the "Christian Letter," II. 546, 547, of Mr. Keble's second edition, 1841.

† See the conclusion of Mr. Davison's seventh sermon upon Prophecy, at Lincoln's Inn, 1834.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

I.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, as originally designed for the use of Scotland. From a manuscript copy. With remarks on the Sealed Books of 1662.

II.

In one volume, duodecimo.

NOTES on the APOSTOLIC EPISTLES and the APOCALYPSE.

In continuation of Notes on the Four Gospels and the Acts. Pickering, 1838—1840. Two Volumes.

III.

In one volume, octavo.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, and the OCCASIONAL OFFICES. Illustrated with marginal notes throughout; Historical, Rubrical, and Explanatory.

A

SERMON

BY

(Stanley)

EDWARD, LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH,

PREACHED AT HIS

INSTALLATION,

ON

THURSDAY, AUGUST THE 17TH, 1837.

NORWICH:

PRINTED BY J. FLETCHER, UPPER HAYMARKET;

AND SOLD IN LONDON, BY

HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; AND RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.

1837.



The following Discourse was written without any intention to lay it before the public; but in consequence of a deputation of the Mayor and Corporation, requesting it to be printed, the author feels himself bound to accede to their wishes, with a further hope that the publication of it may remove misapprehension and misrepresentation, on points where all good men can have but one object in view.

SERMON.

2 Cor. ii, 16.

“And who is sufficient for these things?”

WHEN I look around me, and reflect upon the various feelings which an occasion like the présent calls forth, how powerfully, how impressively, how awfully, do the words of the text come home to the heart. Called from the peaceful administration of ministerial functions amidst a retired and rural population, I find myself placed in a situation of heavy responsibility, requiring all the energies of the mind, to exercise the discretion and judgment necessary to fulfil its most arduous duties. Well then may I repeat the words of the apostle, “who is sufficient for these things?” supported only by the consciousness, that, however weak, however incompetent, however inefficient, I may add, in the words of the succeeding verse, that at all events “of sincerity and in the sight of God speak I in Christ.” Yes, my friends, and you, my reverend brethren, who have this day honoured my introduc-

tion amongst my flock and fellow labourers, and welcomed me in terms which I never can forget, believe me that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, and that however defective and inefficient, in many respects, I come before you with a zealous and earnest wish to perform my duties in a manner, which I trust shall stand confessed in the course of our future, and let me hope frequent, communications with each other. I do indeed, and in truth, feel how much is required, and how much the spiritual welfare of this great and important diocese may depend on my efforts. And, having put my hand to the plough, I am warned, that he who looketh back is unfit for the attainment of the kingdom of God.¹ Pray for us, therefore, my brethren, and may the Almighty grant, that “forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth, intent only on the things which are before, I may, while pressing towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus,” not merely point to other worlds, but lead the way.

Appearing, then, for the first time in my official capacity in this sacred pile, this imposing and splendid monument of the highest powers of human art and human skill, dedicated to the glory and worship of God, it may be expected that I should speak, however briefly, on some points connected with the office I hold, and of the duties imposed by it. That this can be done in any thing

¹ Luke ix, 62.

like detail, is obviously impossible ; involving, as details must, an infinite variety of causes and circumstances in which different lines of conduct must be pursued for the attainment of one and the same end ; verifying, in fact, St. Paul's assertion, that there are differences of administration, and diversities of operation, disciplined by the same Spirit, and dedicated to the glory of the same God, which worketh all in all. A slight sketch is all that can with any propriety be attempted—and where can I look for subject matter, more appropriate, more applicable, and to me more satisfactory, than to the Consecration service, now, as I trust it ever will be, fresh in my memory, with the important and impressive precepts of some of its prayers and admonitory collects, enjoining me “duly to execute the office whereunto I am called, to the honour and praise of God's holy name.”

Here then is the question, how is he, to whom is entrusted the responsibility of a Bishop's office, so to perform his duties, that the church be edified and the advancement of the Christian religion promoted ? An answer, beautiful as it is comprehensive, is best found in the last exhortation pronounced by the archbishop, when he placed the Bible in my hands. “Give heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this Book. Be diligent in them, that the increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all men. Take heed unto thyself, and thy doctrine, and be diligent in doing

them : for by so doing, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee. Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not. Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcast, seek the lost. Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss : so minister discipline, that you forget not mercy : that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, you may receive the never fading crown of glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.” Here we find advice of private application, intermingled with instructions for general conduct, towards those and amongst whom the Bishop is about to minister.

On that portion relating more particularly to private application, I will not dilate. Let me only say, that it is my earnest prayer, that the contents of that blessed book may indeed be ever first and foremost my food for meditation, and the source from whence I may seek, not only for truth, but for those principles on which alone my episcopal ministrations should be founded. God grant that I may in such manner, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the words of revelation, that they may become unto me and to others, the savour of life unto life.

With respect to the wider range of public administration, the first, the foremost, the leading point is, “Be to thy flock a shepherd.” For the right understanding and full meaning and bearing of this injunction, we have but to glance over the

conduct, and, as far as human infirmity and weakness will permit, follow the example of Him, who in like manner spoke of Himself under a similar metaphor, and was preeminently the one great Shepherd over one great flock, comprising all the dwellers upon earth. What course then did he adopt, that all might be brought to a knowledge of the truth and become one fold; that all people and nations and languages should serve him. He extended the arms of his mercy and loving kindness to all, whether believers or unbelievers, the Jew, the Gentile, the worshipper at Jerusalem, or the Samaritan separatist who worshipped in the mountain. He acknowledged all as claimants alike for his care and attention, and fit recipients for the glad tidings of reconciliation, not for the Jewish nation only, "but that he should gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad."² And we have the record of a faithful follower in what manner such a gathering should be effected. The servant "of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; adding to godliness brotherly love, and to brotherly kindness charity." With such an authority before us, from which there can be no appeal, from inclination as well as from duty, from long experience, that such is the surest mode of winning souls, am I prepared to act towards all, who, however differing in shades of opinion, and

² John xi, 52.

severed from each other in classes of different denominations, have the love of God at heart, and acting according to the dictates of conscience, though not strictly of the fold of our own church, yet form a portion of that community in which all churches, sects, and parties, unite under the designation of the Church of Christ.

And here must be present to your recollection one who went to his grave in a full age, and like as a shock of corn cometh in his season, was gathered into the garner of eternity—my venerable and respected predecessor, who was a proverbial illustration of the character I have described—whose mildness, and meekness, and christian forbearance endeared him alike to every christian, were he churchman or dissenter, of ours or of another fold, and whose failings, if such they were, might truly be said to lean on virtue's side. Be it my endeavour to tread in such steps, convinced that by actively, zealously, and perseveringly so doing, I may hope, with all those that have departed in the faith of Christ, when the chief Shepherd shall reappear, to receive a never fading crown of glory through Jesus Christ our Lord.

My reverend brethren—my joint associates and fellow labourers in the vineyard, with such feelings and such intentions I appeal to you for support and co-operation. Let us bear in mind that we have but one object in view, that the religion of the Cross should be the end at which we aim, and

its mantle of charity, that which it should be our paramount duty to cast widely over the field of our common exertions. No one who has read the New Testament can doubt but that the division of the unity of Christ's Church is a fearful sin, but it were well to consider what it really is. Surely when our Lord declared of the man who cast out devils in Christ's name, yet followed not with the apostles,³ that he who was not against Him was on His part,⁴ He told us clearly that there might be outward divisions of form, which were compatible with the truest unity of spirit—and when He declared, "He that is not with me is against me,"⁵ and again, "not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,"⁶ he told us clearly that there might be a perfect unity of form, with the most utter division of spirit. It is then against the spirit and not the form of division that the denunciations against schism are directed—if the heart of a man be full of love and peace, whatsoever be his outward act of division, he is not guilty of schism. Let no man then think himself free from schism, because he is in outward conformity with this or any other church. Let no man think his neighbour a schismatic, because he is not in outward conformity with this church. He is a schismatic and he only, who creates feuds and scandals, and divisions in the Church of Christ. He

³ Mark ix, 38.

⁵ Matt. xii, 30.

⁴ Mark ix, 40.

⁶ Matt. vii, 21.

who is quarrelsome, and uncharitable, and unconciliating in public or in private life, in his family or in his parish, in the common occurrences of daily intercourse, or in the political and ecclesiastical questions in which it may be his duty to be involved; whether he has left the establishment for the mere sake of turbulence and miscalled independence, or whether he continues in the establishment and excites animosities either against its members or the members of other christian communities,—of whichever of these faults he is guilty, it is one and the same sin, shewing itself in various forms; the same sin which St. Paul so earnestly rebuked at Corinth; the same sin to which every follower of Christ in this country, whether layman or clergyman, churchman or dissenter, is liable. But he who separates only because he thinks it a painful duty; he who remains because he thinks it his duty, whatever else may be their sins, are not so far as they separate or remain, guilty of the sin of schism.⁷ Let it be our endeavour so to purify our

⁷ It is surely allowable for those, who under "the perfect law of liberty" feel that they are members of a Church founded on free and fair inquiry, to hold the sentiments above expressed. Accordingly what I have said of schism will be found not only consonant with Scripture, but with the language of some of the brightest ornaments of our Establishment, other authorities might also be adduced, in addition to those here quoted.

Thus Archbishop Secker in his *Lectures on the Creed*, Lecture 14, Porteous' edition, 1825, vol. 6, p. 137—"Christ's Church is the whole number of those who believe on him—how much soever they may differ in some opinions or practices, yet they are one in all things essential."

Lecture 14, vol. 6, p. 143—"Such, indeed, as obstinately deny the fundamental doctrines or transgress the fundamental precepts of Christianity, ought

own sanctuary, as to leave less and less ground for such internal schisms and such separations. Let us thus bring again the outcasts, and thus seek the lost. Let us maintain and set forward, each in his own circle, quietness, love, and peace.

to be rejected from Christian communion ; but to renounce communicating with any others who are willing to admit us to it on lawful terms, is the way to cut off ourselves, not them from the body of Christ."

See likewise Jeremy Taylor's "Twelve marks of a member of the Church of Christ," in the dedication to Holy Living and Dying, Heber's edition, vol. iv, pp. 4, 5.

Dedication to the Psalter of David, &c. vol. xv, p. 107.

Liberty of Prophesying, Introduction, vol. vii, p. 442.

And again, see Liberty of Prophesying, vol. viii, p. 230.

"Men would do well to consider whether or no such proceedings do not derive the guilt of schism upon them who least think it, and whether of the two is the schismatic? He that makes unnecessary and (supposing the state of things) inconvenient impositions, or he that disobeys them, because he cannot, without doing violence to his conscience believe them. He that parts communion, because without sin he could not entertain it, or they that have made it necessary for him to separate." This goes far beyond any thing maintained in my sermon, but I quote it, to shew that Bishop Taylor held strongly the opinion, that conscientious difference from another form of Christianity does not imply the sin of schism.

Butler's Sermons (vol. ii, p. 297, Sermon for the Society of Propagation of the Gospel.) "It were much to be wished that serious men of all denominations should join in this design . . . for the Scripture cannot be spread for a continuance, unless Christian Churches be supported. In the next place, if Christianity is to be propagated at all, it must be in some particular form of profession, and though they think ours liable to objections, yet it is possible they themselves may be mistaken, and whether they are so or no, the very nature of society requires some compliance with others, and while together with our particular form of Christianity the Scripture is spread, and especially while every one is freely allowed to study it and to worship God according to his conscience, the evident tendency is, that genuine Christianity will prevail."

In what I have said on this subject, let me not be misunderstood as undervaluing the vast importance of adhering to that great means of christianizing our institutions and our people—the Established National Church ; but I felt myself bound in stating my views of schism as denounced in scripture, to express my conviction that the essence of this sin, was not of necessity involved in separation from the Establishment, however much, as I have stated, it may be in particular cases.

Let us hope that in our Zion of this diocese, such dissensions shall be rather subject matters of reports from without, than as confessed existing maladies within. Points there may be where, constituted as human nature is, in its weakness and corruption, influenced by birth, prejudice, and habit, it is impracticable for us all to be of one mind; but in our differences, in our disagreements, let there be no revilings. If there is wherewithal to anger us, let us beware that we sin not. Above all, let us look out for some neutral ground, some hallowed oasis in the wilderness of life, wherein we may tread, in harmony and mutual strivings, in honest rivalry, one common pathway, the termination of which can neither be doubtful nor questionable.

And surely that pathway presents itself in the second subject to which I would now draw your attention, in the contemplation of a most interesting portion of the congregation I am now addressing. Before us we have twelve hundred claimants⁸ on the bounty of a christian public, beings with immortal souls, destined like ourselves for everlasting habitations when they have finished their course. As their advocate then, (in conjunction, I am persuaded, with all and each of you, my reverend brethren) I now address this vast congregation of all ranks and gradations, of all denominations too, if I mistake not, here assembled,—I appear before

⁸ The children of the different charity schools, arranged on platforms before the altar.

you as the advocate of education—education, that fulcrum on which the well wishers of the human race may rest securely; that moral lever, whereby the character of our rising generations may be rendered not only worthy of those immunities and privileges which have been the spontaneous growth of the times we live in, but whereby a still more important benefit may accrue, in the purification of their minds, and development of those powers and better feelings which, under due cultivation, may render them worthy inheritors of that state for which our Creator has destined all, who, by devoting themselves to his service, may avail themselves of his promises of immortality.

Education, however, is not a simple term, admitting only of one interpretation. It may be viewed under a twofold medium—the one to a certain degree unconnected with religion, the other directly and altogether embodied with it.⁹ By many

⁹ In answering the address with which I had in the morning been honoured by the numerous body of clergy then assembled in the cathedral, I expressed myself on the connection of religion with education in the following terms, “I consider it as an auspicious commencement of my ministration, that the honoured trust of advocating the cause of promoting christian knowledge, should have been, at your request confided to my care, and though I may regret that it was not placed in abler hands, I am confident that one more zealous or more willing, could not have been selected, convinced as I am, that the independence, and the integrity of this country, and its respectability, in the estimation of the nations of Europe, depend mainly, if not entirely, on a *sound, judicious, and general education associated with christian principles.*” I had therefore no reason to suppose that my sentiments could by any possibility have been misunderstood, after so explicit and unequivocal a declaration. In a discourse, however, about to be submitted to the public, I think

pious and well intentioned persons it has been considered, that no education ought to be encouraged, unless religion is absolutely identified, and made the actual basis of it, in all its bearings and ramifications. From such I would presume in some respects to differ, not indeed in the opinion that religion ought to be the beginning and the end of all knowledge, but the fact that any branch of education whatsoever, can be cultivated without corresponding important results; that any process, any influx of improvement, can fail to enlarge and thereby benefit individuals, by raising them in the scale of being, by exalting them above sensual and profligate habits, and by thus preparing the soil, if I may so speak, for future fruits, and by a still further renewal and regeneration of their minds, rendering them more fit recipients for those higher sentiments as-

it right to state, that in the above allusion to branches of useful education not of necessity connected directly with religion, I referred solely to industrial schools and other systems applicable to the practical improvements of social life, which it is to be regretted are too frequently objected to, or opposed, as foreign to the profession of the clergy, under a prevalent notion that they have nothing to do with any other branch than what is usually termed school education; respecting which there can be but one opinion, namely, that to render it in any degree effective, it must be altogether blended with and based upon the doctrines and precepts of the bible. My views, however, of clerical interference and guidance, extend far beyond this limit. I cannot but consider the clergy as the connecting link between the higher and humbler classes of the community, the medium by which the influence and refinements of the former are brought home to the wants, the necessities, the domestic economy, and even the recreations of the latter. And to the omission of this valuable accessory cultivation of the mind, do I attribute that disappointment too frequently complained of by the most sanguine and zealous supporters of what is commonly comprehended under the title of national education.

sociated with devotion. Be it borne in mind also, that what is so commonly called teaching religion, is not in fact always synonymous with inspiring devotion, and spiritual affections. Is there, I would ask, a clergyman before me, who has not had to lament again and again, that while the memory and head may be stored with minute details of doctrinal niceties, points of faith, and controversial texts, the heart may remain a barren spot, into which the spirit of the gospel has never entered, and the seed taken no root. Let us remember that there may be a form of religion, without its spirit or its soundness. Tempers may remain unimproved; evil dispositions uncorrected; original sin, in a word, unmitigated in its propensities; and, while this is discoverable, there is yet much to be done, before what is commonly called religious education really deserves that name.

On these grounds, then, though however much I prize and prefer an education based on religion, and on those reformed doctrines, and what appear to me the pure views of the national establishment of this country, I do nevertheless hail, as a national blessing, every attempt towards the mental advancement of the great body of the people, in whatsoever shape, in whatsoever form, or whatsoever aspect it presents itself; provided it is uncontaminated by party views, emanating purely from a praiseworthy love of improvement, and a wish to civilize the rising generation. The infusion of

knowledge may be poured forth through various channels, and by various means, but the consequences must as surely meet in one focal centre of unquestionable benefit to the world at large, as all matter tends to one point under the universal law of gravitation. But whether all will coincide with me in taking this wider view of the subject, sure I am that every minister of our Establishment who, in sincerity and truth, has at heart the well being of those committed to his charge, will see the necessity as well as propriety of taking an active and prominent part in the dissemination of both worldly and christian knowledge, whether promoted by himself or others. The moral improvement of the people is a post whereon a clergyman should ever be found a watchful and zealous sentinel. Let the clergy be on the alert, and with christian zeal be prepared to lead, and not to follow. Let them stand forward boldly and cheerfully, with an activity which shall convince beholders that they are in earnest, and have no selfish, minor, or petty objects in contemplation, and I doubt not but that their efforts and good intentions will be more than half way met by those who might on other grounds be disposed to differ from them. The right hand of christian fellowship will surely never be withheld from a parochial minister, who in obedience to his calling and ordination vows, holds fast the faithful word as he hath been taught; and thus, while a tolerant expression of his sound doctrines will ex-

hort, a similar exercise of his sound judgment will convince the gainsayers, and stop the mouths of the unruly, the vain talkers, and deceivers.¹

In the speech delivered from the throne by her Majesty, during a breathless silence of the most intense interest, in alluding to that act which had passed the legislature, limiting the sacrifice of human life, and thereby peradventure furthering the eternal salvation of many a penitent and contrite soul, she concluded with these words, "I hail the mitigation of the severity of the law, as an auspicious commencement of my reign." Like her, albeit, in a far humbler capacity, am I too commencing a reign of minor, but nevertheless solemn and important character. May I then, without the charge of presumption, at a moment when I am for the first time addressing those committed to my charge, paraphrase the language of our royal mistress, and hail the advocacy of education and the promotion of christian knowledge, as an auspicious commencement of my reign. Dear, indeed, has that subject been to me through life. From my earliest years of reason and reflection, I have considered and advocated education, and those various institutions, more or less calculated to raise the people of this land above low and degrading pursuits, as the great means of civilization and reformation, as a desideratum with which the vital interests and

¹ Titus i, 10.

welfare of the British empire were closely interwoven and identified. But I little thought that the time would ever be, when in such a place, and before such an audience, I should be the privileged instrument of calling a whole Diocese to support that noble cause.

I have thus far spoken in general terms, but in conclusion I feel it a duty to touch upon some minuter points of local interest connected with the Society for promoting Christian knowledge. You are all, I believe, aware that the object of this society is to provide works not only of a religious tendency, but others connected with general instruction and improvement, for general distribution amongst those who by previous education are prepared to profit by them. This society was established in the diocese nearly thirty years ago, under the auspices and direction of my respected predecessor, the knowledge of which will I think be a sufficient claim for a continuation of public support—more especially, when assured on the authority of those who have interested themselves in its success, that of late years its funds have been progressively diminishing—and are now at a very low ebb. As far as the clergy are concerned, I am happy to say it meets, and has ever met, like every charitable institution, not only in these counties, but throughout England, with their most persevering support; and I am rather inclined to suspect, that on this very

account, the laity have unintentionally kept aloof, under an idea that it was of a peculiarly clerical or ecclesiastical character, connected with what is usually termed the Church, with which, interference on their part was either unnecessary or intrusive. So far however from this being the case, their support is most essential to its welfare. It behoves indeed the laity at all times to bear in mind, that when we speak of the Church, we are not confining or limiting that term to the clergy. The Church consists of a congregation of faithful men of all ranks and professions, of which therefore the laity form a most prominent and essential part. God indeed forbid, on any occasion, where the advancement of education and the well being of our fellow creatures is concerned, that all, the laity and the clergy, the churchman and the dissenter, should not unite hand, and heart, and head, in the furtherance of an object of so unquestionably a beneficial tendency. I am willing moreover to hope, that this cause of providing religious and instructive books for the poorer increasing class of readers, will become daily more popular, by the progressive interest taken in the process of education.

During the short period of my connexion with this Diocese, I have been gratified beyond measure, by receiving reports from many excellent and zealous clergymen, and I may add laity, of schools and institutions in various stages of advancement, some of which are highly illustrative of the broader view

I have taken of education.² In these then and every other attempt in which, as the representative of the church in this diocese, I may be called upon to superintend, may I find that co-operation from my professional brethren, without which all zeal must be paralyzed and activity rendered abortive. Rising above all petty and extraneous prejudices and feelings amongst our sacred body, may you, my fellow churchmen of the laity, stretch forth your right arm of fellowship and assistance, that the Church of this Diocese, lay and clerical, may stand forth a bright example and type of that all-including Church of Christ, in which, when this world with all its human and contending passions shall perish, the faithful followers of our common Redeemer, shall meet to enjoy "that eternal sabbath which remaineth for the people of God."

² I am indebted to a distinguished and exemplary clergyman (Lord Bayning) for having turned my attention to the practical application of education, which I had before alluded to, as not of necessity connected with religion, in full operation in his own parish and neighbourhood, under the judicious and benevolent superintendence of a landlord, who not only devotes his wealth, but the still more important gift of his time, to the encouragement of those various industrial and rational occupations, whereby his tenantry are trained up to habits of sobriety and good order. For a further instance of the happy operation and results of the same cause in a manufacturing district, I would refer to a factory at Bollington near Macclesfield, in which, by the adoption of a system of moral training nearly similar, the proprietor has justly entitled himself to the gratitude of every individual in the dense population of his own immediate neighbourhood.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A

FAITHFUL WITNESS OF CHRIST;

NOT DESTROYING THE LAW, BUT FULFILLING IT.

FOUR SERMONS

PREACHED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

IN NOVEMBER, 1838.

BY THE

REV. CHARLES MERIVALE, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE.

Μη παρατρέχωμεν ἀπλῶς τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξετάσωμεν ἅπαντα, τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν λεγομένων πανταχοῦ σκοποῦντες· μὴδε νομίζωμεν ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀπολογίαν τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα· οὐ γὰρ ἀκεραίους ἐκέλευσε μόνον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονιμούς· ἀσκῶμεν τοῖνον μετὰ τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δογμάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου κατορθωμάτων.—S. Chrys. Hom. in Joh. 39.

Non putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu; non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis.—S. Hieron. in Ep. ad Gal. c. 1.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED AT THE PITT PRESS,

BY JOHN W. PARKER, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

FOR J. & J. J. DEIGHTON, TRINITY STREET;
AND JOHN W. PARKER, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XXXIX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN publishing the following Discourses, it may be proper to state, that the first and second are printed as they were delivered, with the exception of verbal alterations; the third and fourth have been considerably expanded. Notwithstanding, the Author is aware how inadequate they are in compass and detail to give satisfaction to those who would wish to see the positions established, which they can do little more than assert. He only hopes therefore, that they may answer the purpose of pointing out distinctly the principles which his argument involves.

C. M.

January 1839.

S E R M O N I.

ST. MATTHEW V. 17.

I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

THESE words were uttered by our divine Master and Instructor at an early period of his ministry, in allusion to the suspicions which had already arisen among the Jews as to the nature and extent of the innovations he was about to effect. The scheme of the New Revelation had not yet been divulged; but the Scribes and Pharisees had heard enough, we may suppose, in the opening sentences of the sermon upon the mount, to cause them to fear lest the simplicity and moral beauty of the precepts of Jesus should throw a shade upon their whole system of formal observances. They already perceived that the contest which their instinct told them was at hand, must be between the letter and the spirit. They knew too surely, that if the object and meaning and principle of the elder dispensation should not be destroyed, but rather fulfilled by the new, yet that its laws and systems and outward forms must be destroyed, and that their own occupations and persons would sink into insignificance. To them therefore the declaration of the text brought no comfort: it was not of a character to conciliate their inveterate prejudices. And yet it

would not be right to throw the charge of selfishness and interested motives upon all the opponents of the new Revelation indiscriminately. It would not be just to comprehend the whole of the above-mentioned classes of the Jewish nation in the general condemnation which attaches to the names of Scribes and Pharisees, nor to characterise as heartless and formal every individual among them who looked forward with apprehension to the vital changes which should surely follow upon the mission of Christ. We may suppose that the zeal and ardour of the young man Saul, was answered by deep devotional and reverential feelings in Gamaliel and other elders; that there was purity of heart and uprightness of sentiment among many, both young and old, who yet could not look upon the advent of Him who claimed to be the Messiah, without distrust and dismay. The glories of the past events of Jewish history,—that great and continuous manifestation of God's immediate Providence, illuminated by glimpses of His person, and thrilling with echoes of His voice,—were enough, one might allow, to absorb the feelings of the honest and devout, to engage their minds exclusively with the past, and leave them little care and interest in the promised glories of the future. It might be natural with human infirmity to be satisfied with the past and the present, and to neglect that which was, however, the primary duty of Judaism, the looking forward, namely, to the completion of prophecy. That such was the case with many, we may fairly infer from the evidence we have of the length of time this same feeling lingered among the Judaizing converts: we know how difficult a task it was found by the apostles, to wean them from past

associations, and open their eyes to the spirit of the new Revelation. How many excuses were they not obliged to make for them! How many indulgences to accord them! How wide was the dispensation conveyed by the words of St Paul, "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth*." Under the peculiar circumstances of the transition from Judaism to Christianity—a transition which implied not the relinquishment, but the adaptation of ancient ideas to the modern—it was to be expected that the view men would take of their duty, in retaining old customs and opinions, or in hastening to adopt the new, would vary according to the temperament and mental discipline of each individual. The bold and sanguine would be hasty in rejecting their old notions under the name of prejudices; they would fling away, perhaps, much that was vital along with all that was formal†: the timid and melancholy would cast lingering regards upon the habits of their forefathers, and try if they could by any means combine the outward expressions of their faith with the more free and liberal spirit of the Gospel. It is strikingly observed by one of our modern navigators, that while engaged upon a long and arduous enterprise of discovery, he could distinguish the complexion and character of his men, by the very parts of the

* Rom. xiv. 22.

† Thus, to take an extreme case, the Gnostics, with whose opinions the Jewish Christians were deeply infected, conceived an antagonism between the Author of the Old and of the New Dispensation, and did not attempt to reconcile the character of the two as parts of a successive revelation. Along with the formal observances of Judaism they entirely discarded all the assistance that the Old Testament affords us, when rightly understood, towards comprehending the character and the designs of the Deity.

vessel which, when released from duty, they seemed instinctively to frequent: the cheerful and sanguine would gather on the forecastle, and gaze on the prospects opening before them, trying as it were to pierce with their mental vision the drizzling fogs and the beetling icebergs: the despondent and melancholy would linger at the stern, their eyes mournfully wandering over the wastes behind them, their minds absorbed in recollections of the past*.

The discrepancy in the conduct of individuals and sections among the early Christians was analogous to this. The Apostle of the Gentiles was raised up to prepare the whole world for the reception of Christianity. He who professed himself to be the least among the Apostles, "received not the Gospel from man, nor was taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ†." And the success of his preaching was conformable to so special a call. There were others, even of our Saviour's immediate disciples, who halted between two opinions. "But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel," says St Paul, "I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews‡?" On the other hand, the perversity of the Galatian Jews admitted of no compromise: they not only compelled others, but themselves also took their hands from the plough: "after they had known God, or rather were known of God, they turned again to weak and beggarly elements, and desired again to be in bondage thereunto. They observed days and months and times and

* Ross's Second Voyage.

† Gal. i. 12.

‡ Gal. ii. 14.

years." "I am afraid of you," says the Apostle, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain*."

It is not essential to our present purpose to extract from the book of the Law the principles and spirit of the Jewish religion which, as we have seen, were to be perfected and fulfilled by Christ. The point to which we would direct attention is the insight which the fact of this fulfilment gives us into the manner of God's dealings with his creatures. It establishes the continuance and permanence of his love towards us, and proves that from the first to the last he has been the same God of mercy and justice, gradually unfolding to us the depths of his divine nature, and exacting obedience and love in proportion to the extent of his revelations. It declares the unity of the design, and proves the identity of the designer. It leads us by parity of reasoning to reflect upon the natural light with which we are born into the world, and assures us that therein also must be obscurely delineated the same Deity who proclaims himself to us so triumphantly in his latter revelations. The spirit of Judaism and the spirit of Christianity harmonize, as we see, in all essential points: must not the spirit of Nature and the spirit of Christianity harmonize also? The decrees of Nature, argued the sages of antiquity, can never disagree with the judgments of sound philosophy†: is it not the fundamental truth of Theology, that the natural and revealed Laws are the common offspring of the one true God, who cannot disagree with, and contradict himself? The assertion of this general truth does not by any means imply the deduc-

* Gal. iv. 9, 10, 11.

† Nunquam aliud Natura, aliud Sapientia dixit. Juv. xiv. 321.

tion which the eclectic philosophers make from it; namely, that all religions, Heathen, Mahometan, and Christian, are equally of divine origin, and are equally provided by the Deity for the cultivation of the human conscience under different circumstances. It no more implies the divine origin of the forms of religion which men have been permitted to invent, than of the formal observances of the Pharisees or the Roman Catholics. But it does urge upon us, with a force that cannot be resisted, and must not be evaded, that there is a moral principle breathed into the soul of man, antecedent to the religion which is taught him, whether it be a false religion or the true one: and that the first act of every reasoning man, on having a revelation proposed to him, will be, to compare it with the notions of his own conscience. He will learn gradually to correct his own views (for however true the principles of morality may be, yet are they measured out to every individual with more or less of imperfection and admixture of error); he will learn to humble his own judgment, and run forward to meet the exposition of the divine truths thus suddenly enunciated: yet those truths cannot be totally repugnant to his original instincts; but each will be found eventually to reflect light upon and lend an interpretation to the other.

It is allowed, then, that God has given from the first a revelation to man: (not in words, nor by personal intercourse, except in as far as it may be connected through tradition with the revelation made to the first man:) from the first God has made a revelation of his will to man to some extent; the same in kind and in principle as his more direct and personal revelations,

however different in degree and in details. This is acknowledged and appealed to by St Paul in many passages: as where he sums up the introductory argument to the Epistle to the Romans with the exclamation—"Is he then the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? yea, of the Gentiles also:" but in none more particularly than in his address to the Athenians; in which he illustrates and applies the doctrine which we have stated, declaring it exactly on the occasion to which it was most appropriate: "God that made the world, and all things therein, . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men, . . . that they should seek after the Lord, if haply they might find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in him we live and move and have our being: as certain of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring*."

I am not speaking to an Athenian or a heathen audience: it may be asked why what has been represented as so appropriate, as addressed to St Paul's hearers, should be deemed hardly less so to mine? Are we not engaged outside these walls in those same studies which were the studies of the heathen? Do we not submit ourselves to their tastes? enter into their opinions? entangle ourselves in their controversies? live in their intellectual world? And can it be that all that occupation of mind has been thrown away, for any application it may have to our spiritual interests? shall we allow it to be, as our enemies falsely represent it, utterly without a bearing upon our knowledge of Scripture, in its inner spirit and meaning, in which it becomes Theology, the science

* Acts xvii.

of God? Let us observe, on the contrary, the boldness of the Apostle's expressions, exalting the opportunities of spiritual knowledge possessed by the heathen: "The wrath of heaven is revealed against all unrighteousness of men . . . because that which may be known of God is manifested in them; for God hath shewed it unto them:"—as though all moral truth had been freely imparted to the Gentiles:—"for the invisible things of him from the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse*." How important an accessory then must this heathen revelation be to our knowledge of the Christian! what a key to the knowledge of the spiritual man must be the knowledge of the natural! how much must the knowledge of man avail to the study of God!

If then Christ did not come into the world to destroy the spirit of the Jewish Law, which was necessary to the understanding of his own, still less did he come to destroy the Natural Law in its spirit, in which it is the foundation of both the Jewish and the Christian.

The Jewish Law, we have said, is in some respects the interpreter of the Christian: so is the Natural Law. There are many practical duties recognized as moral by mankind which are not directly noticed in the Christian Revelation: they would not have been discovered in the Scriptures, but for the inherent sense of moral duties with which we come to the study of the Sacred Volume: but having once been discovered, they assume their place among Christian

* Rom. i. 18, 20.

duties, and recognize the precepts under which they are virtually included. Thus at one time it was not unusual for infidels to attack Christianity upon this supposed imperfection. Finding the believers relying too entirely upon the exclusive sufficiency of the written word, they challenged them to shew where the duty of friendship was to be found in the New Testament, where the duty of patriotism? In the same manner it is generally allowed, that the horror we entertain of the crime of self-murder is derived not from the letter but from the spirit of Scripture addressed to our natural instincts, and correcting the perversions of moral truth which have occasionally prevailed*. And so perhaps with some other crimes. Again, as it is with practical duties, so is it with speculative doctrines. Nature assures us that the knowledge of God is the end of all knowledge; that this is the highest object to which the human faculties can be directed: that we must aspire to it by means of the most comprehensive study of phenomena, the most general discipline of the mind; that we must inure ourselves to moral and intellectual exercises of every kind; that we must train our understandings to the conception of divine truth, by freedom as well as by subjection, by boldness as well as by caution, by action as well as by endurance. We implicitly recognize a part of this great truth in the metaphorical interpretation we give to one of our Saviour's parables. The precepts which he delivers with respect to our use of talents of gold and silver we instinctively transfer to our natural faculties, and adopt the word itself to express them. We might

* Paley's Moral Philosophy, B. iv. c. 3.

stop short with the immediate application of the parable, and confine its instruction to our use of the special means of grace afforded us through Christ's revelation; but we instinctively look beyond this special application to a wider and more general one: we cannot restrict our means of grace to our opportunities of hearing God's special revelation, but are compelled to extend them to the talents which nature has given us for appreciating her fundamental laws, accepted, perfected, and fulfilled by Christ. But if even the moral law directs the application of these talents to the study of the knowledge of God, far more must the Christian law do so, making as it does that knowledge of such far higher importance to us; endearing as it does and sanctifying God's character to us, and giving us a special interest in it by the mediation of Christ and the influence of the Holy Spirit: imparting to us as it does the awful secret, that "we had the sentence of death in ourselves," in order "that we should not put trust in ourselves," as the heathen blindly did, "but in God which raiseth the dead*."

But however obvious this true and Christian view may be when thus stated as a matter of speculation, we shall be painfully convinced how little it is practically recognized, by considering the opposition which is constantly made by sincere believers to the realization of the principle. We cannot but be aware of the jealousy which is too commonly entertained of the freedom of act and thought which it implies, and how perversely its developement is often stunted by the application of formal rules and restrictions.

* 2 Cor. i. 9.

We cannot but feel practically assured that the lingering prejudices of the Jewish Christians before described are only a type of human nature generally; and how difficult it is for any of us really to rise from the letter to the spirit, and heartily embrace the meaning of Christ's Revelation, which is, not to destroy any thing, but to fulfil all things.

It will be the object of these discourses to assert for our own Church in modern days, the distinction of entertaining sound views in this matter:—of being a genuine representative on earth of its heavenly Master, not destroying the Law, but fulfilling it:—understanding and taking into its inmost heart the true spirit of the natural Law, which is in a general sense the type of the Christian. We hope to shew that the general scope and tenor of the opinions held in our Church, respecting the bearing of religion upon the affairs of social life, form the best practical exposition of the truth involved in the declaration of the text: that they are the most favourable therefore to the fulfilment of the conditions by which the soul of man can be trained in the knowledge of God, and made an inheritor of perfection hereafter. For if the main object of the moral precepts of Christianity be to fulfil the end for which man was originally placed in the world, and endowed with moral perceptions, it will follow that the system which shall most harmoniously discipline these natural endowments, and exercise them in the just appreciation of spiritual and physical things, will be most conformable to the moral aims of God's special revelation. With so wide a field before us, it will be necessary so to direct our inquiries as to keep one point more particularly in view; which shall

be such, as that if it can be satisfactorily proved, the rest will follow by an easy deduction, and may be treated hereafter in a more general manner. Now the freedom of thought implied in such a view as has been here prescribed of Christian duty, cannot, we conceive, be maintained without asserting at the same time liberty of action: it could not be maintained by any Church, unless such Church were in possession of a free political position, and enjoyed commanding influence: it could not be maintained, unless that free position had been gained by a free and wise and spiritual apprehension of the truth, and its value ascertained by outward and inward trials. The greater portion of these discourses must be devoted to explaining what the nature of that position is; and illustrating and defending the spirit in which the doctrine of civil obedience is held among us. It will be found that this inquiry, of substantive importance as it is, is also of the highest importance as an accessory to our general argument:—being indeed the key to the right understanding of the spirit of the Church's teaching in general, and of the peculiar benefits we enjoy thereby.

We are justified, I trust, in treating of the collective nation as a Christian community, and considering the general sense of that community as expressed by the sentiments which are held within the pale of our own ecclesiastical system. For, without overlooking the fatal differences of opinion which exist, especially on doctrinal points, beyond our own limits, we cannot but feel how much influence the higher education and higher social position of the individuals of our communion have upon those who

formally dissent from it, and how nearly the intellectual and moral judgments of the nation at large are represented by our own. Still less, in estimating the general tone of the moral and religious opinions of the community, can we make a distinction between the clergy and the laity; being well assured that there never has been, and never can be a serious discrepancy in the general views of the Christian scheme entertained by these two classes; the harmony of sentiment which should exist between the instructors and the instructed being, as I conceive, happily secured among us by the nicely adjusted balance of their reciprocal influence on each other. The result of this harmony of sentiment seems to be, that the general opinions of the religious and reflecting portion of the community will always in the long run give a colour to the civil and political principles of the nation; that the latter may be considered in a general way as the outward expression of the former; that what is called our happy constitution in Church and State implies an identity of sentiment in the two powers upon questions of constitutional principle. Now, what is that happy constitution founded upon, but the acknowledgment of the civil rights of Christianity, and of the political duties which the profession of Christianity implies? These rights have indeed been, in almost all ages, practically exercised; these duties have been, with few exceptions, practically recognised, in the part which the Christian subject has instinctively taken in the civil transactions of the state: subjected as they have in all ages been to the jealous limitations of our orthodox teachers; denied as they have been altogether by some indivi-

duals and unimportant sects; cramped as they have generally been by the vague and uncertain state in which it has been the policy of the civil authorities to leave them; these rights and duties have however been in fact almost universally recognised, almost universally exercised. But it was at our great political revolution that they seem to have been first freely admitted, and placed on an intelligible and practicable footing. The acquiescence which either at the time, or since, has been accorded by the Christian body to that political event and its consequences, seems to have sanctioned the principle, that whatever the moral law and the natural rights of man allow him in his political and social state, that Christianity does not inhibit. Christianity may modify it; inasmuch as there can be no moral duty which will not be modified by the higher and more spiritual applications which religion suggests. Faith and hope, as they are entertained by the Christian, are new principles, most powerful to modify and to sway our natural instincts: telling us, as they do, that "all things are become new," and that all things are of God in virtue of the ministry of reconciliation* they infuse a new spiritual element into all our temporal views. Our position then simply is—that there is no contradiction in the spirit of revelation to the dictates of nature in these matters, although sound discretion and true philosophy will apply anxiously to Scripture to determine and qualify their conclusions.

Let us inquire then, in the first place, what the object of social institutions is; what we may suppose to be the end which government is intended to fulfil.

* 2 Cor. v. 18.

Shall we acquiesce in the popular notion of modern times, which represents that object to be simply the preservation of life and property? which proceeds on the supposition of men having originally met together on a platform of perfect equality, and formed institutions for their common defence, waiving, for their mutual convenience, a portion of their inalienable rights? from whence the conclusion follows, that it is their duty to resume these rights whenever a similar convenience demands it. As a mere invention of modern times the truth of this notion of the object of civil government might justly be suspected by those who are conversant with the long-prevalent ideas of antiquity, and feel how intimate a relation they bear to the obvious deductions from the Scripture history. But we also discover, upon examination, how shallow and meagre and sensual a doctrine it is; how insufficient it is to promote any other ends than those of the animal and selfish propensities of our nature. If reason were insufficient to teach us this, we might learn it from the melancholy failure of the political systems which have of late been based expressly upon it.

It is argued upon the supposition of the equality above referred to, that mankind must have entered into the bondage of society for the attainment of human and temporal ends: that society is therefore essentially a human institution, not recognising, except accidentally, any divine or spiritual element in its composition. This is a doctrine however which we must utterly repudiate. The foundation upon which it stands is as unstable as the superstructure is barbarous. For all purposes of argument, for the

establishment of any practical theory upon the subject, men never were and never can be equal. It matters not in what state they are born into the world, if from the first moment that they begin by speech, and thought and act, to influence one another, the germs of inequality are distinctly marked. It would not matter, even if men could, as far as their own personal influence is concerned, continue equal for an indefinite time, if the constitution of nature be such that external circumstances must necessarily change the balance sooner or later. But there is no instinct more active than that by which a man is assured of the practical inequality of his species. He is reminded of it not only by the scale which he unconsciously forms of those with whom he is in the habit of associating and transacting his affairs; a word, a look, a gesture may reveal to him instantaneously the moral superiority or inferiority of the most casual acquaintance. No two men, perhaps, ever met upon the same business without one taking the lead of the other; and if not two, still less three, ten, or a hundred. What right then can be founded upon a supposition, which we see has never been practically fulfilled? The state of nature, as far back as we can trace it, is not a state of equality, but of subordination: a state of subjection to the moral or the physical influence of superior faculties, and is, we believe, always possessed with some concomitant idea of harmony and proportion, from whence spring law and order*.

* When pressed with these obvious arguments the advocates of the opinions in question retreat, as I conceive, from a paradox to a truism, and oscillate between the two, according to the interpretation that is put upon the ambiguous expression which they adopt. We do not pretend,

But the subject lies too remote and too deep perhaps for the establishment of any secure theory. The attempt to fathom it might produce more confusion than satisfaction to our minds. Let us rather beware of imitating the self-frustrating inquiries of those speculators, who, according to the judgment of the ancient philosopher quoted by Hooker, “seeking a reason for all things do utterly overthrow reason*.” Let us be satisfied that as society does exist, it must have had a beginning in conformity with some propensity which God has implanted in human nature. There still remains a question for which it is necessary to offer some solution for the practical purposes of the present argument. We cannot but believe that the institution of society must have some spiritual object in view; that it is intended by Providence to work some moral and spiritual benefits to mankind. Let us give a rapid glance upon what we conceive that object to be.

When the human mind first awakes to self-inquiry, it begins to be conscious of a sense of duties and responsibilities, and seeks an object to connect them

they say, that all men are essentially equal, but that they have, at least, equal rights. If they mean by equal rights, an equal claim upon the protection of the law—an equal power to acquire and dispose of property—an equal enjoyment of the social benefits of civilization according to their rank—it is a truism, for no civilized state denies this in principle, though there may be defects and anomalies in its practice. But if by equal rights they mean equal civil power—an equal exercise of the franchise—an equal hand in making the law—these are rights which can only be advanced upon the assertion of an equal inherent aptitude, which is the paradox we have already considered:—

Publica Lex hominum NATURAQUE continet HOC FAS,
Ut teneat VETITOS inscitia debilis ACTUS.

* ἀπάντων ζητούντες λόγον, ἀναίρουσι λόγον.—*Theophr. in Eccl. Pol.* i. 8.

with. We find ourselves placed in the centre of a vast human society, all the members of which are, or seem to be, like unto ourselves: and yet, whatever relationships we may have among them, whatever ties of kindred or inclination, however we may approximate in tastes and sympathies to individuals, it is with strange emotion that we feel very early in life the awful extent in which every one of us stands alone upon the earth. What community, what interest, what right can we have one in another, when the centres of our thoughts and feelings are so far asunder? when the heart of each of us is wrapped up in communion with itself? Is not this sense of solitude the origin of our religious intuitions? We require some bond to connect us with our fellows, to assure us that they are, and do not only seem, endowed with the same feelings, and born under the same conditions as ourselves. This assurance is first supplied us by the sense we acquire of responsibility to God. We persuade ourselves that there is one Being in whom we can have a community, an interest, and a right; that we are not solitary atoms in the universe, but are members of His body, connected, though at some unimagined distance, with Him as our heart and centre. We feel that we have been put forth from His presence to execute some purpose of His Providence, not as blind instruments, but as intelligent agents, and shall hereafter be resumed into direct communion with Him. In the mean time we feel that we owe Him the exercise of our faculties, and our instinct suggests their direction. Henceforth we acquire a new interest in our species, from the conviction that they too are members of the same

divine body, performing similar functions, and liable to similar obligations with ourselves. We know how instantaneously a sympathy arises between two persons as soon as they understand that they are engaged upon a common object. They seem suddenly to know and appreciate each other better than they might otherwise have done, though they had been acquainted for years. So it is with the sense of our mutual relation to God: we are all at once apprized that the individual responsibility to Him which we felt before, is no longer due from ourselves alone, but from every living face that we see around us. From this moment there is a common bond of sympathy between us all. We call to each other to assist us to bear our common burdens. We cling to each other for all purposes of security and comfort, temporal and spiritual. We acquire mutually the idea of a social and national responsibility. As originally we were possessed with the sense of our obligation to exercise our own faculties in the attainment of some moral excellence to which we seemed to be instinctively directed, so we now conceive of the nation, that God has assigned to it collectively some special vocation, and that there lies upon it a solemn responsibility to apply itself thereto.

And here we arrive at what actually was the ancient idea of the object of civil institutions. It was a fragment of the original revelation, torn from its context, defaced, half understood. It was a faint reflection from the special Revelation to the Jews, to whom this idea was imparted with a distinctness that might confirm its divinity. The leading principle of the instructions of the Law and the Prophets

was, that God had committed to the Jews the deposit of the true faith, for the vigilant protection of which they were to be responsible. St Paul, after comparing the religious opportunities of the heathen with those of the Jew, supposes the question, "What advantage then hath the circumcision?" to which he answers, "much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God*." There was a moral and spiritual advantage then in the keeping of these oracles or promises; it was an exercise of faith which brought with it its own reward. And so it was, accordingly, that the people recognized the fact that they were set apart for a certain divine purpose. They were constituted guardians of a holy treasure, which constantly reminded them of the Deity, for whom they held it in trust. It was impossible for them to forget, that "unless the Lord keep the house, the watchman waketh but in vain;" and they watched over the treasure with a religious sense of the spiritual benefits the trust would confer upon them if it were spiritually exercised.

Far less strongly marked, a similar idea may still be clearly recognized among other nations of antiquity. They seem to have persuaded themselves that each was under the peculiar protection of certain divine Intelligences, for the developement of some moral excellence. We will only remark, that the more capable the feelings of any of them were of religious views, the higher and more spiritual character did the moral aim implied in their existence assume. If it was said to be the part of one people to excel in art and science, and in raising human apprehensions to

* Rom. iii. 1, 2.

appreciate the harmonies of the universe—another seemed to be conscious of a higher object, to inculcate law and order, to civilize the world by peaceful institutions, to spare the obedient, and to beat down the proud.

And now, to make our application of the foregoing remarks;—if this be the true idea of the object of society and government, and that mankind are bound to watch over their institutions, and see that they fulfil what they conceive to be their end, it would be absurd and contradictory to suppose, that the means are not put into their hands to keep them to their purpose, to correct them when they go astray, to amend them when they become manifestly imperfect. This we are assured is the Law of Nature, and we cannot conceive *a priori*, that the Christian scheme can be intended to supersede it. Throughout nature we find, that wherever there is an instinct to construct, there is always an instinct to defend and preserve. As the one instinct is prior to reason, so is the other. The most obvious and most general instance we can refer to, is the natural affection of the parent for his offspring, answering to his natural propensity to propagate his kind. The same principle is extended to the works of his hand, his buildings, his plantations, his institutions; to the works of his intellect, the thoughts which he has disseminated in the world. To look more closely into the same principle, we find that there is a natural repugnance in man to crime, which is in all cases a violation of the principles of society. And yet it is not because crime is such a violation that we abhor it: we do not in the first instance reason about it, and draw

our conclusions from experience of the social evil incident to this or that evil action. The abhorrence of murder and theft and adultery is a deeper, and more original feeling than this. In the case of murder nature calls for retaliation; not for the satisfaction of society, but for the suffering of the malefactor. However much we may reason about the practical expediency of this or that degree of punishment, legislators know that society will not endure that the punishment should either much exceed or fall far short of equal retribution. Here then is instinct reclaiming against crime, and unconsciously maintaining the principles of society. Again, the class of crimes which we comprehend under the seventh commandment are in reality highly prejudicial to the well-being of society; and as such would require to be repressed. But the natural feeling against them is prior to any apprehension of the necessities of society; it is grounded upon an instinctive abhorrence of sensual gratifications, an instinctive sense of the self-degradation which they imply.

Now in all these cases we know that Christianity does not supersede our natural instincts. We cannot therefore suppose that it does so in the particular case which is the subject of our present inquiry. Yet as in all these cases Christianity does introduce new ideas for our guidance, and requires us to study its moral revelations before we commit ourselves blindly to the dictates of nature; so in the present instance we must consult the volume of the Inspired Word, with the assurance that it will enunciate some less obvious principles to modify what nature has stated too broadly, or to complete what she has left imperfect.

S E R M O N 11.

ST. MATTHEW V. 17.

I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

WE have stated our deep conviction of the truth of the principle, that religion is intended to spiritualize the natural man through the medium of his natural instincts: not to abolish the law of nature, but to ennoble it; not to cut up human sentiments and prejudices by the roots, but to educate and train them. This principle, it is conceived, has been most emphatically asserted by our church in modern times, in whatever way it has had an opportunity of expressing its judgments. It appears to have become entwined with the very heart-strings of the nation, being recognized in the general tone of our literature, of our manners, of our civil institutions, of our educational systems. We trace it in the popular encouragement of art and science, in every branch in which the taste and intellect of the natural man can be purified and advanced; of the elegant literature, which contributes to our social enjoyment, and assists us in understanding each other, by erecting a common standard of taste and sentiment; of varieties of rank, and all the conventional distinctions which follow from them, and foster the Christian feelings of subordination and respect; of the cultivation of such secular branches of learning as may be best

fitted to educate youth in comprehensive views and general principles;—we trace it throughout the whole range of our manners and customs, in which we allow both clergy and laity to forego the simple habits of our Christian forefathers, and adapt our interpretation of Scripture precepts to the exigencies, as we conceive them, of modern society.

As a type of all these instances of the application of Revelation to the advancement of human society, we proposed to examine more closely into the liberty which we practically claim of taking as active a part in the affairs of civil government as would be conceded to the natural man. As a Christian people we assume the right to wield the machinery of our institutions, each in his own appointed station, and according to defined laws and principles. This we do, not for the satisfaction of our own pride and caprice, but under a religious conviction of a duty and responsibility thereto annexed; with a clear view of the improvement we have it in our power to effect in human society, and the developement we are commissioned to give to Christian principles and practice.

This is the interpretation we follow of the duty implied in our text,—the duty of fulfilling the law, and not destroying it. We have shewn already what the natural law is; it remains to examine the scriptural, and prove that they coincide. If we make no further express reference to the words of our text in conducting this inquiry, it will be felt, I trust, that the whole conduct of our argument is in illustration of its meaning.

I. Now the Scriptures nowhere profess to make any express declaration of God touching the forms of government under which men should live: not only

do they nowhere enjoin any particular form as a matter of positive precept, but neither do they institute any comparison among them, and recommend one above another for our moral and spiritual advantage. We may consider it, if we please, established as a matter of fact, that the regal and patriarchal form was at the first the institution of God and of nature; we may try to trace the subsistence of this kind of government through a large portion of the early history of mankind, and infer from its divine origin, so assumed, and its early universality, that it is capable of conferring peculiar blessings upon the human race, and has been one of the many appointed means by which the progress of the species has been providentially guided. But when we observe how early, after all, the principles of patriarchal succession were confused and lost, how soon the direct progress of God's own revelations took a different turn, and introduce other and distinct elements of social polity to our notice, we cannot but acknowledge that He has himself indirectly revealed to us, that the example of early times can be of no necessary obligation to us in these matters, and that His own special approbation may be indifferently extended to many and divers inventions of the human mind. Nor if we proceed to examine the history of the Jewish nation, after that their polity was established in all its detail, upon their occupation of the promised land, shall we find any further reason to suppose that it was the intention of the Divine lawgiver to deliver any rules relative to the construction and maintenance of civil institutions that should be of universal application, except the most general and abstract. If we look only to the visible form of the

government among the Israelites, we find that it was a kind of republican institution, formed by the federal combination of a number of republican elements, descending through the scale of society, until we again meet with the vestiges of the original patriarchal element in each individual family: a system more distinctly marked in the Jewish polity than in most others of antiquity, but still not dissimilar in its outlines from those with which we are best acquainted, or from such as, we believe, have in reality existed, under the shadow of the great despotic empires, in many parts of the East up to the present day. If we look farther to the invisible Theocracy which is revealed to us in the Old Testament, as the real spiritual character of the Jewish institutions, and as the secret key to the wonderful history of their afflictions and deliverances, we shall recognize therein only another and more distinct violation of the old patriarchal scheme, and a more authoritative declaration, that that scheme is not necessarily of such moral and spiritual advantage to society as would alone account for its being of universal obligation.

Farther, after the original and more immediate government of God had given way to government by kings, after the manner of the other nations, the history of that government, from beginning to end, is of such a character as should make us peculiarly cautious in attaching to Revelation any direct interference in the social institutions of man.

From the reign of Saul, chosen by divine appointment, without any apparent reference to a personal claim upon the obedience and respect of his countrymen, down to the destruction of the divided kingdoms

of Israel and Judah, we find a form of government in existence at variance in some respects with every known form of monarchy in later times; we find every understood principle of succession violated; we find the whole series of the history signalized by instances of the most flagrant rebellion. As for example, the forcible rescue of Jonathan from the anger of Saul*: the preparations that David makes to fight against the same monarch†: the revolt of the Edomites and men of Libnah from Jehoram, because he served not the Lord‡: the conspiracy of Jehoiada against the usurpation of Athaliah§: the conspiracies against Joash and Amaziah||: the forcible opposition which Azariah and the priests make to Uzziah when he tried to thrust himself into the temple; which they continue until the Lord himself strikes him with leprosy¶.

These events are related in the natural course of the historical narrative: they are passed over without any remark as to their moral character: no condemnation of them is in any case expressed: of course, it is not meant to insinuate that they were therefore approved of by God; on the contrary, several of them were cases of resistance which no ingenuity could excuse, on any admissible principles of natural or revealed religion; not to mention the aggravating circumstances with which some of them were attended. But they certainly seem to tell very strongly in favour of our position, that we are not to look to the historical narrative of the Old Testament for any model of government, or any theory of civil obedience.

* 1 Sam. xiv.

† 1 Sam. xxiii.

‡ 2 Chron. xxi.

§ 2 Chron. xxiii.

|| 2 Chron. xxiv. and xxv.

¶ 2 Chron. xxvi.

Can it then be the case that there is no instruction to be drawn by the political philosopher from the records of the Old Testament? Can it be supposed that, as a Christian subject, he has nothing to learn from them respecting the duty that he owes to the powers and authorities of this world? By no means. Let us remember that the Jewish history is not a mere successive statement of facts: it does not leave its moral to be drawn by the reader for himself, but supplies him itself with its own interpretation. For it is illustrated on every side by the writings of prophets and inspired teachers; by express declarations of the right and the wrong on many matters, falling from the mouth of God himself, and interrupting the record of events by the promulgation of his moral decrees. The subject of government is one on which the judgments of God, speaking through his prophets, are numerous and distinct. Let us consider reverentially what the character of these expressions is; and what is the nature and extent of their applicability to us. We find that they declare, in the strongest terms, the majesty and sanctity of the persons who hold temporal authority among men: they seem to exalt them to a place so high above their subjects, that if we were to fill up the outline in strict accordance with the hints that they deliver to us, we should find that we had established upon earth a monarchy absolutely despotic, and that we had sanctified it, and hedged it round with superhuman attributes. Experience has sufficiently shewn that no such governments have ever enjoyed a secure foundation in the moral feelings of the people: nevertheless we know that the course above referred to has been fol-

lowed by theologians and political writers at certain periods of history; and that social institutions have been imagined which should realize the highest interpretation that can be put upon the expressions to which we allude. But to this interpretation the sense of our church, at least since the Revolution, has been decidedly adverse; the general tone of society seems to be in direct opposition to it; the whole fabric of our institutions is built upon a foundation distinctly at variance with it.

Before we proceed to reconcile this anomaly, as we are bound to do, let us look more closely at the expressions themselves.

In making this inquiry, it will be most convenient to combine under one class, the passages in which the sovereignty of temporal rulers is represented as derived immediately from God, and is described to us as the visible symbol of His invisible government in heaven. As the Creator and Governor of the universe is a real existing Being, in whom the principles of eternal law and justice reside, and from whom they emanate; so are human authorities represented as the impersonations of human laws and temporal institutions. The reference in Scripture is always to the person, never to the principle; and it may be remarked by the way, the person who is thus exalted is not always the sovereign ruler only, but all persons in authority under him; all in whom at a greater distance, and with less effulgence of glory, the central light of the original fountain of law is reflected. Such passages are the following:—"By me," God is represented as declaring in Proverbs*, "By me kings reign, and

* Prov. viii. 15, 16.

princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." In Exodus*, "Thou shalt not revile the gods (meaning kings), nor curse the ruler of thy people." In Ecclesiastes† it is said, "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God; . . . for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What dost thou? . . . Against him there is no rising up." Again, in Samuel‡, "As an angel of God, so is my lord the king to discern good and bad." "Who can stretch out his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" And in the Psalms§, expressing the direct claim which the representative of God has upon the divine protection, "Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed; he will hear him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand." It need not be remarked how many more passages of the same kind might easily be produced: we will only refer to two or three of a somewhat different class, in which the sovereign is distinctly pointed out as the medium through which the dispensations of Providence are distributed to people for good or for evil. Thus in Hosea||, "God giveth a prince in his anger, and taketh away a prince in his displeasure." And in Proverbs¶ it is said, "God giveth wisdom unto princes, and maketh a wise and good king to reign over that people whom he loveth, and who loveth him." Throughout Scripture God declares, through his inspired teachers, that it is his divine and eternal will which produces that which the heathen moralist notices as a natural phenomenon,

* Exod. xxii. 28.

† Eccles. viii. 2.

‡ 2 Sam. xiv. 17; 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

§ Psalm xx. 6.

|| Hos. xiii. 11.

¶ Prov. xvi.

that the people suffer for the sins of their rulers: "Woe be unto thee, O land, whose king is but a child, and whose princes are early at their banquets*." "When the wicked do reign, then men go to ruin." "A foolish prince destroyeth the people, and a covetous king undoeth his subjects†." On the other hand‡, "A wise and righteous king maketh his realm and people wealthy; and a good, merciful, and gracious prince is as a shadow in heat, as a defence in storms, as dew, as sweet flowers, as fresh watersprings in great drought." Finally we may allude to the well-known passage in the first book of Samuel||, in which is described the nature of the king who should rule over the Jews, the arbitrary character of his actions is emphatically predicted, and no limitation is assigned to the despotic authority which he shall exercise with impunity. The general tendency of all these expressions seems to be, to give the sovereign a remarkable importance in the eyes of Providence, and to raise his attributes and authority above human questioning.

Now if there is one class of interpreters, who maintain the necessity of forming our social systems, such as those of government, upon the basis of the scattered hints of the Old Testament, and attribute such sanctity to the letter of Scripture as to consider all its expressions at all times equally applicable to the conduct of human affairs;—there is, we know, another class who adopt a contrary extreme, and propose to interpret such passages as those above adduced, as merely the expression of the ideas and feelings of the time at which they were recorded, and look

* Eccles. x. 16.

† Isai. xxxii.

‡ Prov. xxviii. and xxix.

|| 1 Sam. viii. 11—18.

upon them, in short, as nothing but an accommodation of the views of God to those of men. They would deny, therefore, that any authority is to be attributed to them as indications of God's will to mankind in general, and would study them in no other spirit than that which they would bring to the consideration of any other chapter of human history. It will be seen, I trust, that the instruction we would draw from such expressions as those referred to, is real and substantive, although derived from neither one nor the other of these classes of interpretations. The Old Testament affords us indeed, in its most obvious character, a chapter in the history of the human species: the foundation of its incidents is laid in the operation of human feelings; the subject-matter of its reflections and precepts are human life and conduct. But at the same time it is, so to speak, a fragment of the history, as revealed to us, of the divine nature; it gives us a glimpse, and more than a glimpse, of the ends and aims of Providence; it keeps steadily in view the great object of affording us a clue by which to direct our life and conversation; in our pilgrimage it is a pillar of cloud still guiding us by day, a pillar of fire still lighting us by night. These two essential elements in the character of the elder Revelation cannot be contradictory; at the same time it must be necessary, for our full edification, that they be reconciled and harmoniously combined. We must be assured that, however local and temporary and human the incidents and interests of many portions thereof may be, there can however be few pages or passages that do not contain either on the surface or below it, the germs of spiritual instruction for all times and

places. It would be inconsistent with the idea of a human history, that its interest should be universal throughout; it would be inconsistent with the idea of a divine revelation, that its spiritual application should cease with those to whom it has been originally addressed.

Now the case before us is only a particular instance of the general method on which Revelation seems to proceed. Revelation, as distinguished from the moral Law, may be described as Religion teaching by examples; one of its principal objects seems to be to exalt in our imaginations the importance of the individual man in the eyes of his Master, and his consequent responsibilities. The examples of Abraham and David, and other prominent characters of Scripture, seem to be held up to us, as instances of the blessed effects of faith, or resignation, or courage, or other religious virtues—effects not personal only and immediate, but natural and prospective. “I will bless thee,” says God to the patriarch, “and thou shalt be a blessing*.” The same is the principle of the remarkable sanction given to the second commandment: “For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.” Throughout the history of the Jewish people, our attention is fixed first upon the individual favoured nation, as an example of the favour with which the same immutable Providence will always regard its Church, and further upon the favoured individuals, whom we

* Gen. xii. 2.

are taught to regard, as the Jews themselves regarded them, as types of that individual and personal Godhead, which should in the latter days be actually revealed upon earth. We know that it is a common theme with writers upon the internal evidence of the truth of the latter Revelation, to expatiate upon the spiritual efficacy which is imparted to its precepts and promises by the actual personality of the Son and the Spirit, which it so distinctly declares. We all know by experience what the advantage, and what the comfort are, of the assurance of this personality; how much surer a hold it takes of our imagination, and how much more effectually it influences our practice, than any of the metaphysical abstractions to which human philosophy ever inclines. But while the time had not yet arrived for the manifestation of these essential truths, the minds of men were kept in a state of constant preparation for them: observe, for instance, the simple declaration of the second commandment against idol-worship. It is illustrated—not by a nice enquiry into the distinctions between the act and intention, into which human theologians fall, of which there is perhaps no trace throughout the Old Testament—but by an ever-recurring reference to the exalted character of the only true God, which is represented as a perpetual declaration against idolatrous worship, and as sufficient to impress upon the pious believer the nature and heinousness of the offence. So with the fifth commandment, “Honour thy father and thy mother:” the injunction is vague, and might give license to many cavilling limitations, such as we actually find condemned in the gospel; but the principle upon which

it is founded is built up and fortified by innumerable passages in Scripture, in which the beauty of the relation of parent and child is set forth, for the sure instruction of those who are willing practically to profit by it. And above all, the character of the relation is exalted beyond any human illustration by the assumption of the title of Father by the Deity himself,—by the constant representation of his relation to us as our Father, which is in heaven. In the same manner it would appear, that the relation of a king to his subjects is exalted and sanctified to our minds, by the high and spiritual view in which it is placed; the principles of law and justice being represented as impersonated in individual rulers, and those rulers made, as it were, expressly in the image of God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords*.

In the present instance, therefore, we would make this distinction;—that the description of kings and rulers is conceived in the spirit of human feelings, and is truly a transcript of the opinions of the eastern world, such as we see them even at this day; it has no obligation then upon the forms under which men may find it convenient to enlist themselves. But it has, at the same time, a spiritual application to all men, under all circumstances; it appeals to the principles by which we form our moral habits of thought and action. It recommends us to look away, as far as may be possible, from abstract ideas of government to the persons of those who are set in authority over us; it assures us, that for the mass of mankind the practical purposes for which powers

* εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην ἡ τιμὴ διαβαίνει—S. Chrys. Hom. 65. in Gen. xlvi. 26.

and authorities are ordained will be best answered, by withdrawing their thoughts from the principles and foundations of their laws to their visible representatives. It bids us cherish our imaginations, and rejoice in investing beings like ourselves with attributes beyond our own: it teaches us to believe in an excellence beyond our knowledge, to walk by faith and not by sight: it tells us not to be ashamed of those feelings in ourselves, of which we acknowledge the beauty and the practical holiness in others; confessing, as we do, that no men have lived lives of such exalted piety and such Christian humility; that no men have left behind them so sure a pledge of their acceptance at the end of our common journey, as those who have most spiritually honoured the beings whom God delighteth to honour.

II. This then we conceive to be the state in which the question is left by the Old Testament: let us proceed to enquire what light is thrown upon it by the Gospel Revelation.

The political and religious situation in which the people of Israel found themselves placed during the period from which their enthusiastic expressions of loyalty and obedience emanate, was one peculiarly fitted for the encouragement of the sentiments which they imply. At that time the faithful subjects of the Jewish monarchy enjoyed peculiar spiritual advantages, forming as they did, together with their rulers, an unanimous society of which Jehovah was the acknowledged head. At that time the sovereign and all persons in authority were, in theory at least, believers and worshippers like themselves. They were all united by the same bond of family belief and

worship; and the king was the temporal head of an establishment of which all the individuals of the state were members, and the nation constituted the collective whole. When we arrive at the period of the Final Dispensation we find this state of things entirely reversed. The civil authorities stand completely aloof from the society of the true believers; the sovereign has no spiritual connexion with them. There is no bond of union between them, except that of bare authority: setting aside all question as to the legality of that authority, (for in some parts at least of the Roman territories it may fairly be considered as legitimate, and we are speaking of its relation not to the Jewish Christians merely, but to the scattered flock of Christ throughout the empire), the establishment of the new religion severed the ties of nationality throughout the world, and abolished for the time the old foundation of all civil societies, namely, the unity of religious worship. The jealousy of the state was immediately roused. The taxgatherers applied to our Saviour's disciples with the question, "Doth not your master pay tribute*?" as if they felt that the position which he assumed must be naturally independent of their authority. Jesus saith unto Peter, "Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free." The king's children are those who are equal and independent, and are not liable to the exercise of his authority in the same sense as the strangers or subjects. Such was the case with the Christians in

* St Matt. xvii. 24, and following.

relation to the kings of the Gentiles: they were independent of their authority, inasmuch as the principle upon which that authority was founded, which we have just explained, was inapplicable to them. They did not recognize the emperor as their spiritual head, according to the theory of heathenism. And if the example of our Saviour could have been pleaded to justify their standing out upon this their natural claim of independence, they would doubtless have done so, and the whole face of history would have been changed. But our Lord himself waived that claim, saying, "Nevertheless, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth thou shalt find a piece of money: that take and give unto them for me and thee." From whence it follows, of course, that the same principle upon which we are enjoined to pay tribute to existing governments, must be extended to embrace every other case in which obedience to the civil power can be ordinarily demanded.

Such then were the principles of obedience under the circumstances in which our Saviour's disciples were placed. Our Lord's injunctions are simple and general, and have no reference to any special or extreme cases. They afford the highest sanction to the duty of obedience generally, but do not contemplate exceptions that may practically arise. They reinforce the natural principle, but in no respect contradict it. We know however that even though thus simply stated, the principle was obnoxious to the earliest converts. Their rebellious spirit rose within them; and rejoicing in the spiritual monarchy

under which they were enlisted, they could not brook the violent opposition of human hands or the interference of the secular magistrate. So it was that Peter struck off the ear of the high priest's messenger; that James and John called for fire from heaven to consume the village of the Samaritans which had refused them admission. Our Lord however rebuked them with the words, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of." We may easily conceive then, how, when the example and authority of their Master had been removed, the contentious spirit of the disciples, which too often displayed itself in questionings and cavilling among themselves, should have tempted them to resort to that claim of independence of the temporal powers, which their Lord had ordered them to forego. In the trials and privations, the contumelies and the injuries to which their profession exposed them, who shall wonder if they fell back in their spirits upon the glorious privileges to which they were newly born, and forgot the law of obedience which was grafted upon them? They knew that they were a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people: they presumed too much, we may suppose, upon this peculiar nationality, and conceived that subjection to existing authorities was inconsistent with it. Such, we think, seems to be the occasion of the well known passages in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and in that of St Peter: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive

to themselves damnation*.” “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them who are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well†.” The sense of which is illustrated by what follows—“Servants, be subject unto your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable unto God.” Which the Apostle proceeds to confirm by the example of our Lord’s suffering.

Now both of these passages seem to bear strong marks of having been suggested by a particular emergency, which is no more than what is obvious upon the face of nearly all the Epistles. If such be the case, it may be wrong to press their literal obligation upon all succeeding generations. They may have been conceived in a spirit of antagonism to prevailing prejudices; they may have been strongly worded and highly coloured, in order to present the more striking contrast to the errors of the persons to whom they were addressed, as according to the common metaphor, the bow must be sometimes bent in one direction, to counteract its habitual tension in the other.

In order to explain what has been just said more fully, and to obviate misconception, let us consider

* Rom. xiii. 1, &c.

† 1 Pet. ii. 18, &c.

of how wide application this principle of contrast is in the New Testament. We know there is a class of passages which are a common stumblingblock to pious-minded men, who know not how to obey them literally, nor how to account for them, except in their literal acceptation. Such passages, I mean, as these,—“ Resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if a man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also ;”—of which this is sufficient as a type. A good and sufficient, and, I trust, an honest explanation of these austere injunctions may be, that they are intended to inculcate upon us a moral habit, and not a practical course of action : that the duty we should derive from them is that of cherishing such a temper of mind, and guarding such a line of conduct as shall shame our enemies out of their enmity, and make us a joy and blessing to our neighbours, submitting ourselves one to another in the fear of the Lord. But if it be urged—why then does our Lord make use of such peculiar expressions ? why does he not confine the manner of his teaching to such general commands as those of the Apostle : “ Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you ?”—what are we to say ? To submit that such is simply His will, and that we cannot be expected to solve it, is only to throw the question back to the same point at which it was before. But what if we consider the general scope of our Lord’s teaching, and the strong evidence there is that it was not, in many parts, an independent revelation of the one eternal Truth, irrespective of the peculiar feelings

and understandings of the people to whom it was primarily addressed; but an accommodation to the intellect of the Jews, a contrast to their fatal errors, an antagonism to their corrupted system:—shall we not herein discover a key to many of its hard sayings, an explanation of the spirit of many of the commands, which the world has not, and perhaps cannot, literally practise? The fact is, the Church of Christ has never been established in strict literal conformity with the simplicity of the letter of the Gospel. Compare the delineation of the Church as we find it in the Sermon on the mount, with the practice of our own Church for instance, pure and apostolical as we believe it to be, and we cannot but admit that the latter, in its various ranks and privileges, in its temporal advantages, in its manifold rites and ceremonies, in the indulgence it accords to secular occupations, in its encouragement of literature of various kinds, in its recommendation of a wide and expansive and catholic education of the intellect, may be built upon a traditional, I believe a primitive interpretation of the spirit of Christianity, but not upon the bare letter, in all its nakedness and simplicity. This has ever been the ground of contest between the Puritan spirit within and without the Church, and the true catholic spirit. There has ever been a party without and within the Church, which has exclaimed against what it has conceived to be a too liberal interpretation of the scriptural rule, Let your conversation be yea, yea, and nay, nay. It has been in consequence of this narrow and erroneous view of the meaning of Scripture that so much exception has been taken to the temporal establishment of Christianity, and so much horror expressed at its secular results as incon-

sistent with the Christian profession. It is the same error that lies at the bottom of the objection which has found honest advocates in every age, that our creeds and formularies are additions superinduced upon the simplicity of the gospel. Certainly no creed ever has been or can be drawn up that should equal the simplicity of the forms which our Saviour himself used when inquiring into the faith of his converts. To the woman who had but touched the hem of his garment, he says "Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole*." Again, he says to the blind man that came unto him, "Believe ye that I am able to do this? According to your faith be it unto you†." If he was satisfied with the confession of Peter—"Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God‡,"—why, it is asked, should our form of creed be expressed in greater detail, or more studied phrases? Philip was satisfied with the confession of the Ethiopian,—“I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God§”—and straightway baptized him in the water by the wayside: why do we accumulate words and ceremonies upon this simple confession and acceptance? Once more, our Saviour commanded his disciples not to make long prayers, nor to use vain repetitions, standing, as the Jews did, in their synagogues, but to enter into closets and shut the door, and pray to our Father in secret, after the form of perfect simplicity which he has himself given us. And yet upon this simple basis we establish a hierarchy of priests and ministers, we build chapels and churches and gorgeous cathedrals, we invent long and ela-

* St Matth. ix. 22.

† St Matth. xvi. 16.

+ St Matth. ix. 29.

§ Acts viii. 37.

borate liturgies, and forms of prayer for various occasions, and diversify them with all the pomp of music and other artificial accessories.

Now if there seem to be some anomaly and apparent inconsistency in this our practice, we must not shrink from considering how it may be accounted for and defended. We have already alluded to what we believe to be the solution of the difficulty, namely, that there was a particular and proximate object in our Lord's teaching, which must be carefully distinguished from its more distant and general application. The heart of the Jewish nation was corrupted to its core by the unchecked progress of superstitious practices, and the growth of formal ceremonies; they took refuge from their practical duties in empty, unmeaning, conventional phrases, which ever clung to their lips: hypocrisy was with them as it were a great national leprosy, which

"had barked about,

"Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust,"

the once smooth and unwrinkled body of the chosen people of God. As a sick man must be restored to health by first putting his system into a violent and unnatural state of excitement of a contrary tendency;—as a sleeping man must be awakened by the violent contrast of an external sound with his own internal stillness;—so must the Pharisee be roused from his dream of self-sufficiency, and awakened to genuine piety and humility, by representing these virtues in the most glaring contrast to his former notions. The sermon on the mount is the occasion of all others in which the simplicity of the Christian duties is represented in the most striking and startling manner,—in a more naked and

austere manner, may we not acknowledge, than it was our Lord's intention they should be practised in. Now that sermon bears throughout a running reference to the existing habits of the Jews. There is a comparison expressed or implied throughout between, not Christianity and Heathenism,—not truth in the abstract and falsehood,—but between the precepts of Christ and the practice of the Pharisees. “Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, ‘Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but I say unto you, Swear not at all.’ “Ye have heard it said, ‘An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,’ but I say unto you, ‘That ye resist not evil.’ “If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the Publicans the same?” “When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are.” And then follows the passage which has been already alluded to. Indeed, this direct and constant reference of our Saviour's teaching to the immediate wants of the Jewish nation, is declared by himself in precise words in his conference with the Canaanitish woman, saying, “I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs*.” By which we do not of course understand that our Lord's mission was prospectively confined to the house of Israel; but that it bears a direct application to them, and its literal meaning is very often coloured by the peculiar exigency of their case, and in conformity with the mode of treatment which they required. We cannot therefore doubt, that considerable scope has been left for the interpretation of the spirit of his precepts in after ages, and that there may be many cases of such

* St Matth. xv. 24.

liberal interpretation, in which the practice of his holy Church may be its own sufficient warrant.

If then this be so much the case with our Saviour's teaching in the gospel, we can have no hesitation in extending the same principle to that of the Apostles in their epistles. The only difference will be, that as in the former case there is a constant reference to the opinions and habits of the Jews, the Scribes and the Pharisees, and the truth is obliquely indicated by painting the most striking contrast to these; so in the latter, the writer has frequently some form of Christian error in view, and it may very well happen, that he may judge that that peculiar error may be best combated by the highest colouring on the opposite side of which the truth is susceptible. Accordingly, if at any time St Paul perceived a laxity of feeling and practice in the matter of civil obedience, we may easily conceive how he might proceed to set these opinions right by laying down the rule with the greatest strictness of expression of which it was capable; that is to say, by stating the rule absolutely, and avoiding all allusion to possible exceptions, of which the immediate result would be to encourage the perverse to take advantage of them. Our argument may be summed up, then, by saying, that we understand the precepts of the New Testament to enforce upon believers more strongly, more vividly, with more immediate sanctions, the duties and responsibilities of man in his social state; holding up the power and authorities of this world as direct objects of his reverence; bringing the eternal principles that lie behind them nearer to his sight and to his heart through the medium of these their visible

representatives: but still admitting that the law is the actual thing, the monarch only the shadow, and that times may be and have been when the actual pressing necessities of life may force men to tear aside the veil—to reject the symbol and cling to the reality.

Such we conceive to be the full and fair statement of the character of Christian obedience as delineated in the Scriptures, and recognized in the general spirit of our belief and practice. It asserts, in the highest sense, the divine commission of government, and therefore of those who exercise government by the grace of God. It encourages us to rise out of the base and vulgar views of the character of rulers, which are too natural to us; it leads us to nobler and more generous sentiments by the appeal it makes to our imagination and to the sympathies of the better part of our nature. Most wisely and most mercifully does it do this:—most wisely, inasmuch as thus alone can our respect be settled upon a firm basis, thus alone can fear with all its painful and destructive results be cast out by love:—most mercifully, inasmuch as it thus saves us from all the miseries of anarchy, it saves us from ourselves, it saves the divine part of us from the brutal. But it does not specify the form of government under which mankind are to live; nor does it declare that their institutions, once established, must be unalterable, like those of the Medes and Persians. These are fabrics which human hands must fashion, and re-fashion: the materials lie in our own hearts, in our own nature; in those holy and blessed instincts by which we see the ends of government, and labour for their accomplishment.

III. There is one further objection that has been urged, and may again be urged to the view we have attempted to establish, to which our concluding remarks shall be directed. It may be asked—If there be two ways of interpreting the revealed will of God in any case, does not the greater merit attach to those who adopt, and do really practise, that which is the more difficult to practise? This I believe to be the naked statement of the question by which men deceive themselves in this, and in many other cases: as if there were any necessary connexion between the merit of the individual undergoing suffering for conscience' sake, and the truth of the theory in the cause of which he suffers. Granting, therefore, the highest merit to those who in this and in all similar cases do for conscience' sake suffer wrongfully, we must not allow our feelings in their favour to influence a calm decision upon the truth of the view they adopt. But, it is said, the whole tenor of Scripture declares that suffering must be the portion of all true Christians: suffering, it is said, is the badge and note of the true Church; surely it must be the badge and outward sign by which we may know the true from the false brethren in this world. What then, it is urged, shall we, when two interpretations of the same precept are placed before us, the one hard, the other easy;—the one repugnant to our rebellious nature, to our pride of heart, our carnal self-indulgence; the other soothing to all these, and encouraging, may be, to all manner of evil thoughts, opening the door in a thousand cases to all manner of evil actions;—shall we hesitate for a moment which of the two interpretations it is our

duty to adopt? Let us mortify our pride—let us subdue our ambition—let us curb the exercise of our sinful human faculties—let us abjure action, and take up our cross in patience and endurance—let us submit in every case to every kind of persecution and injury, even according to the letter of Scripture:—so will our course be straight before us; no doubts, no questionings will intrude; but we shall add mortification to mortification, and be living examples of the truth of the blessed declaration of the Apostle, that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of heaven. How blessed, then, is the lot of those who feel in every pang they suffer an earnest of happiness hereafter! how happy, if we could truly say of ourselves, as did the early Christians, “that we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men! that even unto this hour we are both hungry, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place;—being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer it, being defamed we intreat*!”

Such are the feelings and arguments of those who glory in what we must consider low and narrow views of the meaning of Scripture. Not that we would be supposed to consider the results of true Christianity to be in any way different from those here enumerated; that there is less suffering to be endured, less contumely and evil report to be put up with, less mortification of mind and body to be adopted for the discipline of the soul. For, is ours a bed of roses? Is it to lie softly and sleep in odours, to have the Scriptures to interpret to ourselves and to the world;

* 1 Cor. iv. 9.

to allow for all disturbing forces—the where, the when, and the why—*τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν λεγομένων πανταχοῦ σκοποῦντες*:—to establish the harmony between God's works and God's words; to “set one thing over against another,” and balance truth cautiously, steadily, and resolutely? Which of us shall walk delicately, as in kings' palaces, with this responsibility abiding on him? Is it so easy a thing, so worldly and luxurious a course of life, to study so to use the world as not abusing it? by which we understand that every Christian duty is so finely shaded off from the evil habits of our nature, that it requires the vigilance of a Saint Paul, or a greater than Saint Paul, to keep always clear of offence.

But with those of whom we speak, there is none of this delicate interlacing of the lawful with the unlawful. With them, every thing is defined, clear and distinct. With them, between every thing good and every thing bad there is a great gulf fixed: Christianity on the one hand, heathenism on the other—the Spirit on the one hand, the flesh on the other—heaven on the right, hell on the left. They boast a formula of universal application: they cut the knot which Revelation was given us to untie. Is it so great a thing, then, to sacrifice some worldly feelings and enjoyments, to receive in exchange such great complacency and satisfaction?

But we have not so learnt Christ. With us the question daily recurs, how we may so temper our instincts and appetites as to make them subservient to the spiritual welfare of our fellows, and the objects set before us by our Lord and Master? How shall we fulfil the whole law of God, and destroy no jot nor

tittle of it? From whence shall we obtain this knowledge? From the study of the Scriptures; from the study of human interpretations; from the study of the character and the history of our species; from perpetual watchfulness and inquiry into our own; from earnest prayer for illumination in all and each of these pursuits; from a deep sense of our own responsibility, and of the anxiety and suffering that are incident to so high a calling as ours; from a humble hope and cheerful confidence in God, who gives to all men diversities of gifts, and tries us all through the diversities of our means. Of us, who meet together weekly within these walls, with some accession of knowledge and thought in each interval of study and meditation, of us what less can He demand, than that energy and resolution which has been here insisted upon? Weak as we must feel ourselves, ignorant and foolish, yet to whom does He look in our generation, if not to us, for that balancing of the doctrines of Scripture and of Nature, which is part of the business of Christian teaching in every age?—for which provision is furnished in that single volume for all the ages that are to come. This then is the commission to which we must devote ourselves, this is the constancy and resolution which we must cherish in all the trials of our faith, and afflictions of our conscience: remembering that we too have a sacred treasure to preserve—not like that Indian king's, garnered in earthly storehouses, where moth and rust might corrupt, and where thieves broke through and stole; but which we must lay up for ourselves in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

S E R M O N III.

ST. MATTHEW V. 17.

I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

THERE occurred towards the conclusion of the last discourse a passage which may have already suggested trains of thought in the minds of some of my hearers, inconsistent with the results at which we then arrived, and which might seem at first sight to condemn the line of argument which I ventured to adopt. The expressions to which I allude were to the effect, that the practice of the Church might be its own sufficient warrant for what its enemies would call the factitious and arbitrary interpretation it has put in various cases upon the simple precepts of Scripture. This avowal necessarily implies an acknowledgement of the importance of tradition as a key to the interpretation of Scripture; and may have appeared inconsistent with the liberty which I then assumed of exercising my own judgment upon the meaning of the texts brought under review, and distinguishing the spirit from the letter of the Divine Law. Every one of us who ventures to exercise his commission to discuss and expound Scriptural truth, must feel that a line is to be drawn somewhere or other between that which he receives from authority, and that which he investigates for himself.

The present moment seems the best fitted for me to define, as clearly and explicitly as I can—it would be presumptuous to say, the conclusion at which I have arrived, but at least, the distinction by which I have been guided—a distinction which will be of the utmost importance for the further conduct of my argument.

We know by experience that the principal doctrines of the Christian faith have been preserved through all ages in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and are now, as at all times, to be collected from the consent of doctors and authorised formularies. We are struck with the fact, that though all the doctrines are indeed reasonably deducible from the text of Scripture, yet some of them are of a character which would not perhaps be most easily and most obviously deduced from thence in the shape which they have assumed. At least we know that the texts upon which they are grounded have given rise to widely differing schemes of doctrine without the Church, while the same doctrines have remained uniform within it. The observation of this remarkable fact assists us perhaps to our conclusion, that there is an *a priori* probability that the Author of the faith would make a special provision for the maintenance in the Church of the main outlines of his doctrines. The Trinity, the Atonement, the Resurrection, for instance, we conceive, are new truths, which it was the special object of the Saviour to reveal to a world which would otherwise have remained totally blind to their moral and spiritual importance. But assuredly it would be to confuse and to degrade our notions of a revelation like that of Christ, to suppose that all the moral precepts and rules of life which he delivered in the

course of his ministry, are to be placed upon the same footing of indispensability, and have been asserted by the same miraculous interposition, as the essential doctrines of the faith. It would be to destroy the analogy which we instinctively assume to exist between religion natural and revealed. For in the former it is strikingly true, that the most important and essential doctrines, the idea of a God, of future retribution, of an admonishing conscience, have been preserved almost universally among mankind: while those inferior ones which relate to our conduct in life—our notions about truth and falsehood, honesty and knavery, justice and tyranny—have always differed widely in different ages and different communities. Supposing then we allow that the decision of the Church once obtained upon matters of faith, must always be authoritative, the same authority would not seem necessarily to attach to the practical rules it has suggested. However much the uniformity and constant transmission of those rules might reasonably influence us, they would not be of such direct obligation upon us as to preclude us from comparing the circumstances of former times with our own, and conducting ourselves according to the necessities of the case. Still less so, of course, in proportion as we could shew, that those rules had been less uniform, and the circumstances attending them more special. Here again, however, a distinction must be drawn between ceremonial practice and the conduct of life and conversation. Of the former class, for instance, are the celebration of the Sacraments, and the maintenance of a succession in the ministry, which seem to depend immediately, the one upon the doctrine

of the Atonement, the other upon the fact for which we have argued, of the constant transmission of a mysterious agency for the preservation of uniformity of faith, of the presence, that is, of Christ with his Church to the end of the world. These are cases in which certain new formal rules are revealed; but in such a way as to require some accessory authority to ascertain their precise nature and bearings. In this respect they stand upon similar ground with the great fundamental doctrines to which they are immediately related.—Nor can we confine this authority in matters of practice to cases of such primary importance as those just mentioned; there can be little doubt that the meaning of various phrases of the gospel, the obligation or non-obligation of various injunctions, or their relative importance, may be discovered from the practice of the early Church continued to our own, in cases where such distinctions might be inappreciable to the intellect of individuals or of schools. Common instances of this kind are, on the one hand, the observance of the Christian sabbath without any express command to that effect in the New Testament; and the omission, on the other, to observe the injunction of Christ to his disciples to wash one another's feet. To these several others might be added*.—On the other hand, few will contend that there exists any where an authority to determine points of biblical criticism, least of all in cases where none of these essential doctrines are involved. It is certain that every age has made its own contributions to our store of critical interpretations. It appears to me highly probable that

* See Newman on Rom. and Pop. Prot. Lect. vi.

new moral truths may in the same way be elicited from the sacred volume by succeeding generations, and that until the fulness of time shall arrive, there must be no pause in the activity of human investigation.

The precise distinction therefore to which we would direct attention, is that which obtains between practice in matters of ceremony and ritual observances, and in habits of thought and action in life. For it is obvious that there is a distinction between those practices which regulate the internal affairs of the Church, and form the bond of union between its members, and such as result from the influence which the study of Scripture must naturally exercise upon believers in their external intercourse with the world. Of these latter we presume that they must not be considered as having any intrinsic obligation*; and conclude, that on the question of civil obedience, for

* Field, *Of the Church*, Book iv. c. 16. "Touching the interpretations which the Fathers have delivered, we receive them as undoubtedly true, in the general doctrine they consent in, and so far forth esteem them as authentical: yet do we think, that holding the faith of the Fathers, it is lawful to dissent from that interpretation of some particular places, which the greater part of them have delivered, or perhaps all that have written of them, and to find out some other not mentioned by any of the ancient." Again, in c. 17, "Wherefore we fear not to pronounce with Andradius, that whosoever denyeth that the true and literal sense of sundry texts of Scripture hath been found out in this last age, (whereby, as Guido Fabritius rightly noteth, all things seem to be renewed, and all learning to be newly born into the world, that so Christ might be newly fashioned in us, and we new-born in him,) is most unthankful unto God, that hath so richly shed out his benefits upon the children of this generation, and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to God's church, have travailed therein." In c. 20, he distinguishes expressly between traditions concerning the faith, (although even these he considers it not safe to rely upon implicitly), and those which concern the manners and conversation of men.

instance, and similar matters, men are left, according to the general analogy of the dispensations of Providence, to acquire the meaning of Scripture by the exercise of their own intellectual and spiritual perceptions.

Nevertheless, the practice of the primitive Church in the matter of civil obedience has frequently been quoted as of decisive authority, and such as to preclude, under any circumstances, any other course of action. But, according to the view above stated, however correct their application of the Scriptural precepts to their own case might have been, (and we hope to shew that it was perfectly so for a church in their peculiar position,) we shall surely be at liberty, notwithstanding, to subject their teaching to the usual rules of moral and religious inquiry; not forgetting the reverence due to men of learning and sanctity; and, above all, to an age in which the notions of speculative minds were liable to be tested by practice, and when the persons who promulgated them did really and in truth act up to their professions.

Now from the rules which were given in a former discourse for the interpretation of Scripture, we must conclude that it might lead us into material error, if in this particular we were to adopt the view of the primitive Christians, supposing it could be shewn that their position was essentially different from our own. What that view was, and what their position was, and how our view must be fashioned to meet the altered circumstances of our own position, will appear as we advance: they will be embraced in the general view which we now proceed to take of the relation of religion to the civil institutions of men.

The position of all religious associations in relation to the civil government must fall in theory under one or the other of these two cases.

Either the religion of the people is co-extensive with the State, and enters into all its relations, infused as one essential element into the body politic, proposing to itself parallel ends and interests, sanctifying the connexion of the subject with the government, and imparting a spiritual character to the authority of the one party, and the obedience of the other ;—or it must stand apart, on a distinct foundation of its own, with its own ends and obligations, holding no communion with the State, and recognising no other authority in the civil rulers than that of accidental power and brute force.

The former of these theories is that of the nations of heathen antiquity, as well as that of the Jews ; in which the State and the Church formed one indivisible corporation, coincident in their origin, and of parallel growth together with that of the national character ; coincident also in their tendency to cherish the national life, and transmit it unimpaired to posterity. Among some of these nations, such for instance as we have traces of in the heroic age, the civil ruler was at the same time the highest spiritual authority, and his laws, we may suppose, had the obligation of oracles. Among others, the civil power appointed the spiritual officers ; or performed perhaps certain special functions in its religious capacity, committing the rest to the more pure and undefiled ministrations of a regular hierarchy : such was the general character of the Greek and Roman constitutions. Again, among the Oriental nations, the Persians, the Indians, the

Egyptians, and the Jews, the civil power seems rather to have been delegated by the priestly caste to secular hands, which it kept more or less under its controul. But amidst all these discrepancies, considerable as they are, we find the same striking principle pervading the ancient world, namely, that of the essential unity of the two powers, as the harmonious exponents of the same simple idea, that of the subjection of man to law. For it must be remembered, that the heart of the ancient world was possessed with the conviction that the state is a responsible agent; responsible for the attainment of the ends for which society is created and maintained by the Deity; responsible, therefore, generally for the education of its subjects, whose moral and spiritual nurture is confided to its charge; responsible more particularly for the fulfilment of the peculiar vocation to which the ancients for the most part conceived their politics to be each divinely appointed. Theirs therefore was the purest realization of the theory in question; for to be so realized, it requires an implicit and absorbing faith in the distinct divine vocation of each particular nation, which the worn-out feelings of the modern world cannot appreciate. The intermixture of races, the free admission of alien blood into the governing class, above all, the unlimited extension of civil communities, have gone far to destroy the ancient sympathies which existed among men in this respect; they have paralyzed the feeling of kinship, and blunted the national sensibilities of the modern world. The theory in question requires, moreover, for this its purest developement, an exclusiveness in the religious privileges of the nation adopting it, which it is the

object of the latter dispensation to contradict. Still further, it must be allowed that the gospel has introduced into society what may be called a new spiritual element, restoring as it does, under peculiar sanctions, the idea of man's individual responsibility to God; an idea which, though originally imparted to him, antiquity had almost forgotten; and which, though capable of being harmoniously blended with the social and national responsibility above referred to, has always a tendency to diverge from it, and requires the most spiritual apprehension of revealed truth to be correctly appreciated. We can never therefore expect to see this ancient theory embodied again in the simple form which it assumed in earlier times: but in a more mixed and confused state it still exists; with some enlargement of its scope and alteration of its views, it may even now be traced. It exists, I conceive, under the most favourable circumstances of which it is now capable, as the foundation of that combination of the Church with the State which is at present recognised by the constitution of our country.

This will be made to appear, as we advance, by a rapid sketch of the positions which the Church has successively assumed in relation to the civil power, and by the reflections which will naturally follow upon it.

I. Christianity was planted in the Roman Empire in the centre of an alien establishment. The Christian Church was an institution into which men were to be called forth. They were to be called forth out of Rome, as the modern Babylon, lest they should be consumed in her plagues. They were to be called out of the nation, and received into the Church.

The nation had indeed been degraded by the intermixture of foreign and barbarous races, and its life and energy were falling into rapid decay along with the internal faith of the people in the final cause of its existence and its glory. But while this old-fashioned sentiment still lingered among them, its position in regard to the new opinions was one of direct antagonism; it continued to be invoked during the course of the first four centuries and longer, and never more vehemently, although it was the vehemence of despair, than in the last struggles of Julian and Eugenius*.

In the eyes of the Roman jurists, therefore, the very existence of Christianity was treason against the state: it was a contradiction to the first principles of law and civil obedience. The comparative impunity

* The Romans obstinately shut their eyes to the treason which Constantine committed against the state in the qualified recognition which he accorded to Christianity: "Inter Divos meruit referri," is the judgment passed upon him by Eutropius, and there can be no doubt that the Act of his Deification must have passed the Roman senate. The worst that the Pagan historian ventured to say of him is, "Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus." See Beugnot's very curious work, *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, i. 109, 134. Fifty years afterwards, Symmachus, as the advocate of Paganism, in his application to the Emperor and Cæsars for the restoration of the altar of Victory in the Roman Senate, discards the idea of the unity of the empire, and attempts to establish a distinction between Rome and Constantinople as the centres of the different faiths: "Accipiat æternitas vestra alia ejusdem principis (*Divi Constantii*) facta, quæ in usum dignius trahat. Nil ille decerpit sacerarum virginum privilegiis: replevit nobilibus sacerdotia: Romanis cæremoniis non negavit impensas; et per omnes vias æternæ urbis, lætum secutus senatum, vidit placido ore delubra, legit inscripta fastigiis Deorum nomina, percontatus est templorum origines, miratus est conditores. Cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur, has servavit imperio. *Suus enim cuique mos, suus cuique ritus est.* Varios custodes urbibus, et cultus mens divina distribuit. Ut animæ nascentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividentur." *Relat. Symmachi. c. viii.*

which the first Christians enjoyed is to be attributed to the nation's forgetfulness of its own principles, and to the disinclination of the sovereign power to call attention thereto, by proclaiming the existence of traitors against the state. As in other cases of usurpation, it was the policy of the emperor to enhance the idea of his own sanctity by denouncing as treason every symptom of disrespect to his individual person and attributes; but to discourage all reference to the sanctity of the individual state.

If we were in possession of the circumstances under which the question of civil obedience is treated by the Apostles, we might perhaps find, that however deeply the souls of the first converts were occupied with the contemplation of the mighty mission upon which they were embarked, they were still awake to the anomalous situation which they occupied among the subjects of Rome; at all events, such was the character of the apostolic injunctions, that the best security for the Christians lay in following them literally. Inadequate as they were to guard against that implicit treason to the state which was the essence of the constitution of the primitive Church, they were the strongest guarantee for the safety of the sovereign; and that at a time when it was from the sovereign, and not from the state, that danger was to be most directly apprehended. Accordingly the early Christians could make no intelligible defence as regarded the Pagans, when accused of introducing new and unheard-of principles of nationality, which manifestly threatened the existence of the empire. To these charges they could make no direct satisfactory reply. In vain did they plead their care for and interest in

the safety of the state, as well as their devotion to the person of the emperor, and loyalty to the existing authority.* If the one part of their defence fell upon not unfavourable ears, the other was drowned in the clamorous contradiction of the multitude. But to the emperor, as we have suggested, their appeal for the most part could not be made in vain: he could not but feel that he had no personal concern in the matter; or rather, that to him the Christians were good subjects; they were the better subjects, inasmuch as they did not enter into the dangerous questions which concerned the national principles of union; questions which implied, as often as they were agitated, an internal feeling, in the hearts of the genuine Romans, that the conditions of their nationality were violated by the centralisation of an authority, which all Greek and Roman philosophy claimed for the whole surface of the body politic.

The obvious course therefore for the Christians to pursue, was that of St Paul, to appeal to Cæsar: accordingly their principal apologies are dedicated to the emperors in person†. To them they boast of their loyalty and unshaken obedience: they contrast it with the turbulence and treason of their Pagan subjects‡: they declare how constantly they pray for

* "Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem.... Rom. Imp. commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri, et dum precamur differri, Romanæ diuturnitati favemus. Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarum, ita per salutem eorum, quæ est augustior omnibus geniis." Tertull. Apol. 32.

† Those of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras to Aurelius, Tertullian's to Severus.

‡ "Nihil hosticum de ipso senatu, de equite, de castris, de ipsis Palatiis spirat? Unde Cassii et Nigri et Albini?...unde qui armati Palatium

their safety, together with that of the empire; how they make it of their own accord a religious duty to pay that veneration to the person of the monarch, which the monarch would fain extort from the mass of his subjects against their will. The exaggeration of the numerical strength of the Christian party into which Tertullian falls*, could not have deceived the sovereign power into an idea that the strength of the

Palatium irrumpunt, omnibus Sigeriis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis, nisi fallor, id est, non de Christianis. Atque adeo omnes illi sub ipsa usque impietatis eruptione et sacra faciebant pro salute Imperatoris, et genium ejus dejerabant, alii foris, alii intus, et utique publicorum hostium nomen Christianis dabant." Tert. Apol. 35.

* "Potuimus et inermes nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupsissemus a vobis, suffudisset pudore utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium: immo et ipsa destitutione punisset. Proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quandam, quasi mortui orbis; quæsissetis quibus imperaretis," &c. Tert. Apol. 37.

Passages are frequently alleged to the same effect from Justin and Cyprian. On the other hand, the testimony of Origen is of at least equal weight: *τὴν χρηρὴ νομίζειν, εἰ μὴ μόνον, ὡς νῦν, πάντων ὀλίγοι συμφωνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή;* Orig. c. Cels. viii. p. 424. ed. Spenc. Pliny's celebrated Letter (x. 96), is a favourite subject of quotation with those who seek to represent the believers as extremely numerous in very early times: but the concluding sentences of the letter seem to indicate that the prevalence of Christianity in Bithynia to which it refers, was the effect of some temporary causes, and was likely to die away again as suddenly as it had arisen; which was probably frequently the case in other quarters also. "Videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope jam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, et sacra solennia diu intermissa repeti: passimque venire victimas quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari quæ turba hominum emendari possit, si detur pœnitentiæ locus."

So late as the end of the fourth century, the number of believers in Constantinople, the Christian metropolis, may be estimated at about one fourth of the whole population: see Beugnot's calculations, *Hist. de la Destr.* Vol. ii. p. 195.

Christians was equal to maintaining a contest with the heathen portion of the population. But it might have been a strong argument with the government to throw its own weight into the scale; and secure in the loyalty of the one portion of its people, defy the superstitious malice, which called upon every occasion of public calamity for the sacrifice of this useful and loyal body of men. And hence we may account for what appears to be very fully made out, the deep reluctance of the government to sanction the violence of the multitude, even when forced to indulge them in it*. Hence we may add, the respect that was on various occasions shewn to the believers in the highest quarters†, and the awkward attempts to effect a reconciliation and exterior amalgamation of their views with those of heathenism‡.

* The Rescript of Trajan, forbidding the Christians to be inquired after; that of Hadrian, denouncing penalties against the informers (Justin. ad fin. Apol. 2); and that of M. Antoninus (Euseb. iv. 13), furnish important testimony to the favourable view which the government was inclined to take of the Christians, in opposition to the popular prejudice: while at the same time the charge of antinationality was so obvious and distinct, that it was impossible to protect them altogether even from legal persecution under the forms of the constitution.

† "Erant etiam in eodem intervallo nonnulli principes Christianorum amici atque patroni. Talis fuisse creditur a nonnullis Hadrianus. Talis Caracalla, Elagabalus atque Alexander Severus. Talis Philippi, talis initio Valerianus et perpetuo Gallienus. Talis etiam initio Aurelianus, et in ultima illa Diocletiani persecutione Constantius Chlorus. &c." Dodwell. de pauc. Martyr. c. 10.

‡ Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus, says, that he was accustomed every morning "rem divinam facere in larario suo...in quo et divos principes, sed optimos, electos, et animas sanctiores, in quibus et Apollonium et quantum scriptor temporum suorum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orpheum, et hujusmodi cæteros habebat, ac majorum effigies." (c. 29). And in another passage, "Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Divos recipere, quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui
templa

We observe, then, that during the first three centuries the Christians kept entirely aloof from all connexion with the state, and as far as possible from all participation in its functions; contenting themselves with the avowal of implicit obedience to it, as an external power, placed in a certain physical relation to them, with whose movements they could not in any way interfere, with whose moral character they had no concern. They extended the same principle to the ordinary affairs of life, holding themselves, as far as possible, distinct from the heathens, refusing to associate with them in the public amusements, and guarding against all sympathy with the general literature and tone of thought which prevailed around them. The apostolic injunction, not to go to law before unbelievers, indicated the spirit in which their position required them to act. We judge that they did rightly in literally obeying it. They drew a distinct line between the professors of Christianity and the unbelievers*; including, it must be particularly remarked, in the former class, all who were enrolled by outward rites among the members of the Christian Church. All these they considered as believers: with these they held communion, and that, whatever judgment they might pass upon the character

templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris fieri jusserat: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra, repperant omnes Christianos futuros si id optate evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda." (c. 43).

* St Clement's Ep. to the Cor. begins ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα "Ρωμην: Dei ecclesia quæ Romæ peregrinatur. Tertull. Apol. §. 1. "Scit (religio Christiana) se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire." V. Jacobson's Patres Apost. 1. 4.

and conduct of individuals among them,—whatever distinction they might draw mentally between the members of the Church visible and invisible.

II. Such then was the position, and such the practice of the primitive Church, from which we conclude no rule can be drawn for the permanent interpretation of Scripture precepts. Nor, when the progress of time and of opinion had subverted these relations and antagonisms, was any such rule drawn. The Church became coextensive and coincident with the state: Christianity became identical with the nation. The position which religious men took with reference to the secular affairs of government assumed a new character. It became in principle the same as that which we assume at the present day. In its external features it might present considerable difference, varying exactly in accordance with the nature of the civil government, varying in accordance with the political philosophy of the time. The principle however was the same: the spiritual government took rank along with the temporal; the one was infused as an element into the other; both were referred to the same spiritual foundation. The civil government asserted its right, upon Scriptural grounds, to a temporal supremacy over the religion of its subjects: the spiritual authorities conceded this right, in the name of the national Christianity, and scrupled not to tender their counsel and assistance in the work. The authority which Constantine claimed to exercise over the religion of the state as Sovereign Pontiff, according to the ancient usage of the heathen empire, was extended, with the consent and approbation of the believers, to the Christian Church, and justified by the example

of the Jewish constitution. While the archbishops and metropolitans were empowered to convene provincial synods, the convocation of general councils was reserved as the peculiar prerogative of the emperor. In these however, whatever influence he might exercise indirectly, if he attended, it was in an executive and not a legislative capacity; while within the precincts of the Church he participated in the holy offices merely in the character of a lay communicant*. In the meanwhile, the league which was thus formally effected between the governing bodies of this double corporation, extended itself actually throughout the mass of their respective subjects. As there was one Lord, one faith, one baptism among them, so was there one form of government, one standard of manners, one tone of thought and feeling. The visible Church was recognised in the Christian nation, called out from among heathen nations: it was no longer the aggregate of Christian individuals called out from among a heathen population.

Here, then, we arrive at the restoration in a Christian land of the theory which prevailed among the heathens of antiquity: not indeed carried out in the same perfect and simple shape in details, but offering a fair approximation to it in principle. It was the case in which the civil and spiritual interests of the

* Gibbon, c. 20. The imperial convert and his Christian successors continued to exercise the functions of Sovereign Pontiff. The latest occasion of the application of this title to a Christian prince occurs with reference to Gratian, in an inscription of the year 383. It is doubtful whether this emperor formally renounced the title. He died before the end of the year in which this application occurs, and it does not seem to have been adopted by his successors. In fact, Theodosius appears to have been the first emperor who made Christianity the exclusive establishment of the state. Beugnot, Vol. i. pp. 92, 341.

nation were considered as coincident, and was, as we have seen, the direct opposite of the position of the state with reference to Christianity at an earlier period.

III. The seeds were already sown of the second divergence of these powers. The constitution in Church and state, of which the faint outline only was traced by the first Christian emperor, and which was slowly filled in by his successors, was not destined to continue for many centuries in harmonious operation. The Christian principles of obedience were, however, maintained during this period by the doctors and authorities of the Church: they were practised on the whole cheerfully and piously: whatever failures in obedience there may occasionally have occurred, the principal share of the blame may fairly be attributed to the imperfections in the political scheme of government, which while it allowed neither to the Church nor to any other national corporation their legitimate channels of influence, threw, in effect, a large share of its own responsibilities upon a body which had no proper concern with them*. Some share must of course attach to the natural imperfections of human practice: little, if any, I believe, to the teaching of those spiritual guides, to whom we must principally look for evidence of the actual transmission of Catholic truths. As early however as the fourth century we may discover the existence of an idea of the radical distinctness of the spiritual and the civil power. Or

* Guizot (*Hist. de la Civilisation*) attributes the rise of ecclesiastical influence in the decline of the Roman Empire, to the social organization which the Church supplied in town and country, at a moment when the civil machine had crumbled to pieces.

rather we should say, the idea entertained by the primitive Christians, forced upon them by circumstances, began to be revived under very different circumstances among their successors, and to point to very different conclusions. It began to be conceived that the spiritual power was in its nature superior to the temporal; that the obedience of the Church to the state ought to be reversed. Churchmen began to grow uneasy under the pressure of St Paul's injunctions. St Chrysostom stands forth in defence of true principles, interpreting the 13th chapter of Romans thus*:—"that the Apostle speaks largely upon this subject, enforcing the obedience of subjects to rulers by the analogy of that of servants to masters: he does this to shew that Christ introduced his laws, not for the overthrowing of the commonwealth, but for its better governance; and to instruct us not to thrust ourselves into superfluous and unprofitable troubles, as if the Christian profession did not necessarily involve us in troubles enough." And

* S. Chrys. Ep. ad Rom. xiii. Hom. 23. πολὺν τοῦ πράγματος τούτου ποιῆται λόγον καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις ἐπιστολαῖς καθάπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοῖς δεσπόταις οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄρχομενους τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑποτάσσων. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο, δεικνὺς ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τῆς κοινῆς πολιτείας ὁ Χρῆστος τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ νόμους εἰσήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διορθώσει βελτίονι, καὶ παιδεύων μὴ περιττοὺς ἀναδέχασθαι πολέμους καὶ ἀνομήτους. ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ αἱ διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡμῖν ἐπαγομέναι ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ περιττοὺς οὐ δεῖ προστιθέναι πειρασμούς κ.τ.λ. . . ἵνα μὴ λέγωσιν οἱ πιστοὶ ὅτι ἐξευτελίζεις ἡμᾶς . . . τοὺς τῆς τῶν οὐράνων βασιλείας ἀπολαύειν μέλλοντας ἄρχουσιν ὑποτάττων, δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ πάλιν ὑποτάττει τοῦτο ποιῶν . . . i. e. by saying that power is the ordinance of God. . . εἰ δὲ λέγεις ὅτι σὺ μείζονα ἐμπεπίστευσαι, μάθε ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σοῦ νῦν ὁ καιρὸς· ξένος γὰρ εἶ καὶ παρεπίδημος· ἔσται καιρὸς ὅτι λαμπρότερος πάντων φανήσῃ.

further, he continues, "let not the faithful say that I derogate from them, who shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, by subjecting them to rulers upon earth; for it is not these rulers that bear rule, but God, to whom they and we are equally subject." "If any one yet insist that his commission is greater than I have represented, let him know that his time is not yet: he is a stranger and a sojourner: the time shall be when he shall exceed all men in glory." In the next century Theodoret follows in the same strain*, and evidently with an eye to his great predecessor, whose sentiments he further illustrates, and brings more prominently forward, declaring, that "whether a man be a priest, or a high priest, or a monk, he must submit to those into whose hand government is committed:" adding a qualification, which lets us further into the feelings and discussions of the day, "that is, of course, provided he can do so with a safe conscience: we must take great care lest we find ourselves submitting to an unrighteous command." Theophylact follows†, at a considerable interval, enjoining obedience to the civil government upon every soul,

* Theodoret. in Ep. ad Rom. xiii. εἴτε ἱερέυς τις ἐστίν, εἴτε ἀρχιερεὺς, εἴτε μονήρῃ βίον ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῖς ταῦς ἀρχαῖς πεπιστευμένοις εἰκέτω· πρόδηλον εἰ μετ' εὐσεβείας· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐναντίωσις τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπέκειν συγχωρεῖ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν...

† Theophylact. Comment. in Ep. ad Rom. xiii. ἐπειδὴ ἱκανῶς κατήρτυσε τὰ ἥθη τῶν ἀκουόντων, καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐχθροῖς εἶναι εὐμενεῖς, εἰσάγει καὶ ταύτην τὴν παραίνεσιν· παιδεύων πᾶσαν ψυχὴν καὶ ἱερεὺς ἢ τις, καὶ μοναχός, καὶ ἀπόστολος, ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχουσιν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ὑποταγὴ οὐκ ἀνατρέπει τὴν εὐσέβειαν. παραινεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἀπόστολος, δεικνύων ὅτι οὐκ ἀποστασίαν διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συγγνωμοσύνην καὶ εὐπείθειαν.

“even though one be a priest, or a monk, or an apostle: for,” he adds, “this command of St Paul’s does not subvert Christian righteousness: the Gospel does not teach separation from the state (*ἀποστασία*), nor disobedience; but rather acquiescence (*συγγνωμοσύνη*) and subjection.” From all which authorities, and especially the last, we perceive how delicate was the ground upon which they felt themselves to be treading, how tender the manipulation, so to speak, which the prejudices of the age required.

And yet, unfounded as these prejudices undoubtedly were, we must not suppose that they arose simply from the perverse pride of human nature, or the fond aspirations of spiritual ambition. The Christian dispensation opened as it were a new vein of religious interest to mankind. The spiritual importance it attaches to the individual, as distinct from the nation, has been already alluded to; it will be more fully explained and illustrated when the historical sketch on which we are at present engaged draws to a close. In the meanwhile it will be sufficient to remark the obvious tendency which the conviction of this importance must have, to absorb or obliterate the concurrent feeling of a man’s social interests. It must incline men to withdraw themselves, and those who minister to them in spiritual things, from all contact with the secular powers, upon which they have begun to look with comparative contempt. It must tend insensibly to elevate the dignity, and, if opportunity offers, to enhance the power of the spiritual element of society; to lower the estimation, and to confine the functions of the temporal. This is one of the extremes, towards which modern society is always alter-

nately leaning: it is founded upon as one-sided a view of Revelation as that would be which should represent the Church as the mere creature of civil government, and which, I fear, has found its advocates among Protestants. We know that this latter view has been charged against ourselves by our Romish opponents; it is an imputation, however, which, while it applies neither to our theory nor our practice, will be seen hereafter to be very generally applicable to the practice, however contrary to the theory, of those who do not scruple to advance it. The Roman Church has never endured to remain on a footing of equality with the civil ruler: it is never at rest unless it be "*Aut Cesar aut nullus.*" It has set its foot upon the neck of one state at the same moment that it has been crouching at the footstool of another: it has acted in sincere and harmonious alliance with none. Accordingly, from first to last, every government that has had the strength, has subjected it to civil coercion, and has acted towards it in the spirit of the old maxim of the philosophers:—*Qui nisi paret Imperat, hunc frænis, hunc tu compesce catena.*

But it is no part of our object to trace more closely the steps by which the great revolution in opinion was effected, which established the temporal dominion of popery. We need only point out the basis upon which it was assumed: the theory that the Head of Christ's church upon earth was the representative of Christ in the New Testament and of Jehovah in the Old; that he acted by the same direct inspiration which informed the Apostles of the latter, and the prophets of the earlier dispensation; the theory which appealed to the example of Elijah, who called

for fire from Heaven to devour the king's messengers, and forgot our Saviour's rebuke to James and John*; to the example of St Peter, who struck Ananias and Sapphira dead for lying unto God, and neglecting our Saviour's command to the same Peter to put up his sword†; to that of St Paul, who struck Elymas the sorcerer blind, and observed not how the Apostles themselves had over-estimated their own powers, when they failed in attempting to cast out a devil‡; which applied to the successors of St Peter the glorious prophecy of Christ's spiritual kingdom§: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, O ye judges of the earth;" and dared to set aside Christ's own interpretation of the same;—This kingdom of mine is not of this world.

This sin of presumption brought its own punishment with it: the cause and the consequence bear so remarkable a relation to each other, that we cannot fail to discern in them the special interposition of the finger of Providence.

For several centuries previous to the Reformation the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome had distressed the consciences and excited the remonstrances of the more spiritual-minded of her communion. But the memory of the struggles and the sufferings of

* St Luke ix. 54.

† St Mark ix. 28.

‡ St John xviii. 11.

§ Psalm ii.

the hundreds and thousands who perished by her decrees in those ages, has been obscured by the more conspicuous martyrdoms of the Reformation, or suppressed by the triumphant combination of the secular with the spiritual power. For as long as the secular power, betrayed and insulted as it had been by the spiritual, still endured to be subservient to its interests, the Church of Rome was secure against all attempts to reform its doctrines and practices, and was enabled to blacken, if not to extinguish, the memory of its victims. But in process of time the secular arm was found to be not always equally tractable. It was the protection of a temporal prince that alone saved Wiclif from the stake, and enabled him to leave behind him the fruit of the pious labours of a long life. It was only by the resolute support of his sovereign that Luther lived to maintain, through the term of his natural existence, his eventful opposition to the errors of Rome. Had he been cut short in the middle of his days by the failure of that support, had the old combination of the temporal and spiritual powers maintained itself for another century, his ashes would have been scattered into empty air, and his glowing words would have rested but for a moment upon men's minds; they would have scorched the outer skin of men's consciences, and then been blown away, like the burning flakes of the fagots in which he had been consumed. But the temporal power had at last been roused by the aggression of the spiritual. It took the Reformation under its protection, and marshalled it in array against the Roman usurper. Sometimes indeed it quailed before its giant antagonist,

and then the flames of Smithfield rose into the air; again it resumed its courage, and the rain of Heaven descended and quenched the fires of persecution.

Nor when the first struggles of the Reformation were over, and the balance of the two religious interests was permanently settled, did the contest of the temporal power with the spiritual cease. The former had asserted its cause and recovered its just authority, wherever the revived interpretation of Scripture was acknowledged: on the other hand, wherever the papal creed maintained its influence, it required, as the price of its support, the surrender of a large portion of the former claims of the Church. The countenance which the civil power there offered to the ecclesiastical was like the mysterious volumes of the old Roman legend, for which a higher price was exacted in inverse proportion to their extent and value. But, for the sake of that countenance, such as it has turned out to be, the spiritual power has bound itself hand and foot, and delivered itself up to the temporal: it has sold itself into bondage; it has disowned the assertions of its most cherished sons and defenders; it has allowed itself to be constituted judge over him whom it calls its Head; it has explained into unintelligible confusion the doctrine of its own infallibility, and finally has retreated from its position, under a cloud of equivocations*.

* "According to the universal doctrine of those Roman theologians, who admit the infallibility of a general council confirmed by their Pope, their infallibility when united arises not from their union, but solely from that of one or other of the parts, *i. e.* either from the council, (as the Gallicans hold), or from the Pope, (as the ultramontanes hold). But the infallibility of either *is not matter of faith*, as *Roman theologians admit*, therefore that of the whole founded on it cannot be matter of faith." Palmer on the Church, Vol. II. p. 152.

It would be very important for our purpose, if there were time or opportunity on such an occasion as the present, to detail the degradations to which the Romish Church has been subjected, in almost every corner of its continental dominions, as the price of its recognition by the state. It would be edifying to contrast the violence there done to it, with the respect which has been shewn to us, and the appropriate footing upon which our Church has been placed. Such a comparison would tend to check the declamations of our opponents against what they term our parliamentary establishment; it might also make some of ourselves more contented and thankful under our actual circumstances. Nor would it be less important for our present purpose, in illustrating the point to which all this argument tends, namely, that all the security and happiness and usefulness of a Christian community depends upon their obtaining a true insight into the spirit of their Master's injunctions. The formal application of those injunctions may justly vary, as we have seen, under different circumstances; but woe to those who violate their spirit*.

"At the present day we need hardly prepare ourselves to combat the doctrine of Augustinus Triumphans, Alvarus Pelagius, Hostiensis, Panormitanus, Sylvester, Hugo S. Victor, Durandus, Turrecremata, Pighius, Stapleton, Bellarmine, and the modern ultramontane party, that the pretended spiritual monarch of Rome is invested with a superiority in temporals above the kings and princes of the world; that he is entitled to judge, depose, create sovereigns, to exact homage from them, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. This doctrine has been so completely refuted by Bossuet, and by all the great writers of the Gallican church, and is so little likely to come into controversy, that we may lay it aside."—Vol. II. p. 312.

* I conceive it to be so important to set in the strongest light the consequences of the attempt to maintain the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal elements of civil society, that I make no
apology

IV. Now, the theory upon which our Church was recognised by the State after the Reformation, seems to have been deduced from that of the establishment of Christianity by the successors of Constantine. It

apology for introducing here the long and striking passage from Mr Palmer's work upon which my assertions are founded. After explaining the nature and extent of the subjection of the Anglican Church to the civil authority, he proceeds to compare its real position with the vaunted independence or superiority of the Roman.

"But since this is a favourite topic with Romanists, let us view the matter a little on another side. I ask then, whether the parliaments of France did not for a long series of years exercise jurisdiction over the *administration of the sacraments*, compelling the Roman bishops and priests of France to give the sacraments to Jansenists, whom they believed to be heretics? Did they not repeatedly judge in questions of *faith*, viz. as to the obligation of the Bull 'Unigenitus?' Did they not take cognizance of questions of faith and discipline to such a degree, that they were said to resemble 'a school of theology?' I ask, whether the clergy of France in their convocations were not *wholly* under the control of the king, who could prescribe their subjects of debate, prevent them from debating, prorogue, dissolve, &c. Did they not repeatedly *beg in vain* from the kings of France, for a long series of years, to be permitted to hold provincial synods for the suppression of immorality, heresy, and infidelity? Is not this liberty still withheld from them, and from every other Roman church in Europe? I further ask whether the Emperor Joseph II. did not *enslave* the churches of Germany and Italy; whether he did not suppress monasteries, *suppress and unite bishopricks*, whether he did not *suspend* the bishops from *conferring orders*, exact from them oaths of obedience to *all his measures* present and *future*, issue royal decrees for *removing images from churches*, and for the regulation of divine worship down to the minutest points, even to the number of candles at mass? Whether he did not take on himself to *silence preachers* who had declaimed against persons of unsound faith? Whether he did not issue decrees against the Bull 'Unigenitus,' thus interfering with the *doctrinal* decisions of the whole Roman church? I ask whether this conduct was not accurately imitated by the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, the duke of Parma? whether it did not become prevalent in almost every part of the Roman church, and whether its effects do not continue to the present day? I again ask, whether 'Organic Articles' were not enacted by Buonaparte in the new Gallican church, which placed *every thing* in ecclesiastical affairs

varied from it in its developement, in accordance with the more philosophical and more liberal ideas of the moderns. It was carried out in a wider and more enlightened spirit; it was governed by a deeper feeling of the inner meaning of Christianity, as an insti-

affairs under the government? Whether the bishops were not forbidden by law to *confer orders* without the permission of government? Whether the obvious intention was not to place the priests, even in their *spiritual functions*, under the civil powers? And in fine, whether those obnoxious 'Organic Articles' are not, up to the present day, in almost every point, in force? I again inquire whether the order of Jesuits was not *suppressed* by the mere civil powers, in Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, &c.: whether convents, monasteries, confraternities, friars, and monks, and nuns, of every sort and kind, were not extinguished, suppressed, annihilated by *royal commissions*, and by the temporal power, in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, &c. &c.: and in opposition to the petitions and protests of the pope and the bishops? I again ask, whether the king of Sicily does not, in his 'Tribunal of the Monarchy,' up to the present day, try *ecclesiastical causes*, censure, excommunicate, absolve? Whether this tribunal did not in 1712 *give absolution* from episcopal excommunication; and whether it was not restored by Benedict XIII. in 1728? Is there a Roman church on the continent of Europe, where the clergy can communicate freely with him whom they regard as their spiritual head; or where all papal bulls, rescripts, briefs, &c. are not subjected to a rigorous *surveillance* on the part of government, and allowed or disallowed at its *pleasure*? In fine, has not Gregory XVI. himself been compelled, in his Encyclical Letter of 1832, to utter the most vehement complaints and lamentations at the degraded condition of the Roman Obedience? Does he not confess that the church is 'subjected to *earthly considerations*,' '*reduced to a base servitude*,' 'the rights of its bishops *trampled on*?' These are all certain facts: I appeal in proof of them to the Roman historians, and to many other writers of authority; and they form but a *part* of what might be said on the subject. Romanists should blush to accuse the Church of England for the acts of our civil rulers in ecclesiastical matters. They should remember those words: 'Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.'" Vol. i. pp. 255—258.

Proofs and reference upon all the points here asserted will be found in another part of the work. Vol. i. pp. 318—360.

tution for human improvement upon earth, as a discipline for heaven hereafter. It felt, as our text declares, that the mission of Christ was not "to destroy," but "to fulfil." The system which had been so long dominant had destroyed the law and not fulfilled it, inasmuch as it had denied the religious character of government and society, and had confined the spiritual duties of man to the care of his personal interests, and the advancement of the ecclesiastical system, under which they seemed to be secured. It had destroyed the law; for it had acted as if Christianity had superseded and falsified the original and eternal truths, and had released mankind from the moral obligations which antiquity had acknowledged. It had destroyed the law; for it had withdrawn the care of human civilization from the hands of the temporal magistrate; a duty which, according to the attestation of the whole ancient world, was distinctly revealed by the natural light. It had destroyed the legitimate bond of interest between the ruler and his subjects; it had abolished their mutual feelings of affection and kinship: thenceforth the sovereign was no longer the father of his people; upon his head it had placed a fruitless crown; it had put a barren sceptre in his gripe: it only remained to wrench them from thence when the occasion suited, whenever the mind of the subject had been sufficiently vitiated to allow of so desperate a treason. It was an arduous work, therefore, which the Reformation had to perform, in recovering the old social feelings of mankind, and re-constituting civil communities upon the ancient foundations from which they had been shaken. In conformity with the respect which it had shewn, at

least in this country, to Christian antiquity, it naturally looked for the mode according to which it was to build to an early period in the history of religion. We applaud the wisdom of the fathers of our Church, who found what they sought in the constitution of Constantine and his successors, as being a period and a state of society most analogous to those in which their own work was to be performed. The error, which they happily avoided, has been but too prevalent among other Protestant communities, especially those which have dissented from us in our own country; the error, namely, of going back for the standard of ecclesiastical polity to the still earlier period in which Christianity was an anomaly in society. But from the attempt which has now been made to bring under review the social positions which the Church has successively assumed, I trust the justice and the wisdom of the view taken by our Reformers, as distinguished from those of Romanists and dissenters, will be accurately appreciated.

We have already said of the elder theory, the legitimate coextensiveness, namely, of the Church-corporation and the State-corporation, that it can never be embodied in practice in a Christian community in the same simple form as its heathen or Jewish prototypes. With them, especially with the former, the spiritual interests of the nation were every thing; while those of the individual were hardly recognised, either by the community or by the individual himself. Now we, on the other hand, as Christians, may recognise indeed, and appeal to our God, as the guardian of our institutions, the guarantee of our national life: but not in the same self-postponing spirit as did the hea-

thens or the Jews. We may call upon him in our prayers to save and protect our sovereign, to direct the counsels of our senate, to illuminate the minds of our rulers, spiritual and temporal ; to vouchsafe unto us national blessings, and be our sure defender in war and trouble. But when we have done this, we must look beyond it and away from it ; and when we offer up our prayers for our own individual security, our own individual illumination, and look far off upon that multitudinous crowd of departed souls, among whom we must ourselves be one day mingled, as drops in the ocean, the very immensity of the presence must throw us back upon ourselves alone, and our special interests. We must take refuge from the sense of our own infinite littleness, in the special application of Christ's redeeming sacrifice. Each of us must concentrate upon himself the spiritual advantages which society places within his reach : each of us must feel that he has a special interest in the spiritual character of the ecclesiastical system of the nation, of the national formularies, of the national ministers. He will look with a jealous eye upon the provision the nation makes for furnishing him with the means of grace. In the ardour of his feelings, his first impulse will be to take the choice of these means into his own hands ; he will deny the right of the community, or any section of it, to dictate to him in matters in which his individual duties are concerned ; he will dissent from the principle of a state-religion. More sober reflection may convince him how large a portion he foregoes of his social responsibility in thus making self the whole end and aim of his consideration. He may recollect that he is not an independent member of

Christ's body, but that he is part of a system, and participates in the privileges of a national vocation. For it is in this combination of the social and individual interests of men, that we seem to arrive at last at the true and complete idea of the Christian revelation, of that last all-fulfilling Word of God, from which nothing must be taken away, and to which nothing shall hereafter be added. We have now a distinct instance before us of the way in which our Lord's dispensation is the fulfilment of the moral law, and something more than the fulfilment. As long as we maintain the notion, which was asserted in our first discourse, of the spiritual character of civil government,—of its being, in some sense, a divine revelation to man, and instinct throughout with divinity, as the means of civilizing men in the highest sense, of making them spiritual and conscientious beings, by giving them that best and only true education, the education of their moral feelings and their sense of responsibility;—as long as we maintain this notion, in opposition to the lower and more degraded views which have been prevalent in modern times,—we shall recognise in civil institutions a fit object to be combined with the principle of Christian faith, the immediate tendency of which is to individualize men, and give them a just conception of their personal interests. We may indeed conjecture that this notion of the combination of the spiritual ends for which the individual was born, with those for which the state was created, was obscurely perceived even by the heathen : with them, however, one half of the idea was on the point of being lost ; the idea of the relation of the individual to his God had almost perished from

among them. This was a truth after which philosophy still groped in the dark ; there remained only just enough of the original instinct to set the sages of antiquity upon the investigation, which to them, however, was almost fruitless. It led to a cold metaphysical conception of an abstract good, or justice, or beauty, to which the individual might seem to be called by some internal sense of congruity to conform himself. But it wanted personality ; it wanted the truth and clearness which a direct revelation of the nature of God, and his capacity of representing himself as a man among men, could alone supply. It failed of permanent and progressive results ; it remained buried in the volumes of philosophers, and was refined away to nothing in the disputations of the schools. The Heathen world fell back upon their national responsibilities, and were only too happy to find therein some substantial link to connect them with the divinity, although it reduced their personal interest in him to the fraction of a fraction. How much clearer were the ideas of the Jew ; yet how far did these fall short of those of the Christian ! However nearer they approached to the full conception of the spiritual nature of civil institutions, and the spiritual benefits which are promised to men as members of a body, and as parts of the creation ; yet they principally differed from and excelled the heathen in retaining at the same time among them, though not generally diffused, a notion of the individual relation of man to God also. It was Abraham only, and David, and the prophets, and the few chosen spirits, who saw the day of the Lord, and were glad, who comprehended clearly their individual relation

to their Redeemer and Sanctifier. They conceived it prospectively by faith, and this was the faith which was accounted unto them for righteousness. They were pre-eminently blessed in being made partakers of this vision; and they became a blessing to others by preserving among their people in some degree this sense of the capacity of man to become like unto God. But it was after the advent of the Messiah only that this personal faith became a general element of true religion, giving to every man the same personal interest in the promises of his Creator and Redeemer, as the first man Adam had in his immediate communication with his God; which however had been lost and merged by his descendants in the more obvious but less distinct and personal, far less animating and vivifying, notion, of his social relation unto the same.

Now we have seen by a reference to the history of Christianity, that there was once a time when the circumstances of the world prevented the combination of these feelings as we think they should be combined, in order to fulfil and perfect the natural law by means of the Christian. The feeling of the personal similitude of man to his Maker had been almost lost: it might be necessary to bring it forward more prominently in the first instance, and, in a manner, disproportionately to the other, to secure its permanency and universality. We may see reason to bless the care which God took of his new dispensation, in causing us to pass through a probation of three hundred years before he trusted us with such a state of things as that in which the two elements might be harmoniously combined, as they were after Constantine.

We have seen, again, how in later times the true harmony of this combination was disturbed and in danger of perishing, when the idea of the spiritual character of civil society was overwhelmed by the pre-eminence which was given under the Popedom to the religious society, or the Church. It was reserved for the Reformation to restore the due proportion of the members of Christ's body, and to assert the eternal truth, that individual faith is never more truly manifested than in the works which spring from a full sense of the divine origin and obligation of human institutions.

This feeling is expressed, I believe, in many of the formularies of the Reformed Churches, besides our own, which inculcate the high and divine nature of kingly authority. It is not to be regretted that as an accommodation to human intellect, which requires the utmost precision in the forms of words which are meant to be the bulwarks of human institutions,—the moulds in which the ideas of men are to be cast,—the expressions of these instruments should be somewhat formal, and refer rather to personal symbols than to the abstract conceptions of which they are the representatives*.

* It will have been distinctly seen from the whole of the preceding argument, how truly Christian I believe the spirit of our formularies to be in the high view they take of the duty of civil obedience. It is nevertheless a misfortune, however unavoidable, that their character is so often rather polemical than dogmatic. This is pre-eminently the case with the Homily against Wilful Rebellion, which has given rise to so much angry discussion among us. The first and second books of Homilies were put forth in the years 1547 and 1563, respectively. The deposing Bull of Pope Pius V. was issued in 1569, and was immediately followed by the rebellion of the Papists in the north. Then it was for the first time that the particular Homily in question was promulgated, which contains direct allusions to this rebellion first as in progress (part 1. at the end), and again as suppressed (thanksgiving at conclusion). There can be no doubt that

But while working within the strict limits and "conditions of thought," as they have been called, which these forms prescribed, the minds of our forefathers continued during a century and a half to ascend from their letter to their spirit, to appreciate more and more the data upon which they were founded, and the principles which they embraced. The seventeenth century was with us a period of action, of intellectual and physical excitement, such as the world has seldom witnessed. As the necessary consequence of that action among vigorous intellects, there grew up in the midst of confusion a higher and more spiritual and more harmonious feeling of the meaning of Revelation than men had before experienced. Then did wars of opinion rage around us and among us; once, twice, and yet a third time did pestilence take up her abode, as it were, in the centre and heart of the land; sedition succeeded sedition, filling men's minds

the intention of this Homily was to stigmatize resistance to the Sovereign upon any plea whatsoever; however we may think that the dangerous emergency in which it was framed may account for and be allowed to abate something from the stringency of its tone. If, again, as is asserted, (see Burnet, *Measures of Submission*, p. 11) there is no law, divine or human, that admits of no exception, the Homily herein undertakes a moral impossibility, and cannot be rationally understood in its extreme sense. This was felt so early as the year 1586, by Bishop Bilson, as strenuous a defender of the Royal authority and inviolability, as any Protestant, before or since. He admits that "if a prince should go about to subject his kingdom to a foreign realm, or change the form of the commonwealth from impery to tyranny, or neglect the laws established by common consent of prince and people, to exercise his own pleasure: in these and other cases that might be named, if the nobles and commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberty, regiment, and laws, they may not well be counted rebels." (*True Difference*, &c. pt. III. p. 279). The same argument may be employed against Bishop Berkeley's view (*Sermons on Passive Obedience*); that Saint Paul's injunctions stand on exactly the same footing as the ten commandments, and that *as the latter can admit of no possible exceptions*, so neither must the former.

with undefined fears; rebellion trod on the heels of rebellion, realizing and exceeding their worst apprehensions. Every thing holy and strong, and built as it seemed for eternity, crumbled beneath the invisible touch of mere conceits and fantasies. Then first did Infidelity rear her front undisguised, claiming to be the first-born, and heir of the Reformation. Then did Heresy and Schism rise to the right and the left, contending for the same inheritance, and rebuking those who pronounced them an illegitimate brood. It was by prodigies such as these, "portioned to a giant's nerve," that the spirits of our forefathers were made to quake: it was amidst such storms as these that the faith of religious men was rooted and confirmed: the thoughts which these things engendered were the strong meat upon which they throve; and when words and formulas had been torn away from them, and all the weak props of human invention had failed under their weight, then was it that the principles therein embodied stood out clearly and spiritually, and re-asserted their eternal claims upon the conscience and heart of man. So it was that whatever violence was done to the persons of rulers,—however irrecoverably the old ideas of the individual sanctity might be obscured,—the principle of the sanctity of the law triumphed over anarchy and bloodshed, and the sanctity of the relation of the Christian subject to the institutions of his Christian country was firmly and finally established.

It is from an awful sense of the sanctity of this relation, which it has been our object throughout to illustrate, that we are tempted to advert in conclusion to our actual prospects; similar as men deem

them to what passed among us at the eventful period to which we have referred ; favourable, if to nothing else, at least to the strenuous exercise of thought, and the investigation of the principles on which we stand. We too have watched from a distance the approach of deadly pestilence, marking the desolation it had spread over the fairest regions of the globe, the gaps it had left in the most crowded market-places of the human race. We set our houses in order:—but the arm of God was suspended. We have been scared with threats of sedition, and the civil commotion of such elements of discord as the world never saw armed for evil before. We set our houses in order:—but the arm of God was again suspended. Our enemies are even now arrayed over against us; the trumpet has given no uncertain sound; Infidelity and Schism are banded for the destruction of our Church, for the severance of Religion from the State. Again, we are setting our houses in order:—but the arm of God is still suspended. Therefore, I say,—while yet the evil days come not, nor the years draw near in which we shall have no pleasure;—while the sun and the light and the moon and the stars be not darkened—that ancient similitude of civil change;—while yet that arm may be withheld, and those portents averted;—let us clasp to our hearts the feeling of the sanctity of the connexion of the Church with the State:—not as a matter of political convenience,—no, nor yet as a vantage ground in our spiritual warfare;—but in itself and for itself as an obligation binding upon us as Christian men:—being assured that herein is to be found that fulfilment of the law which our Saviour demands; and

that if ever again the religious community be separated from the civil, it will be no less than the disruption of the compacted members of his holy body, and draw with it, to one or to both, no less direful consequences. Whom God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

S E R M O N IV.

ST. MATTHEW V. 17.

I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

WE have now examined particularly the relation which Religion is made to bear among us to our civil institutions; and we have found that the two are harmoniously blended together, affording each other mutual support and confidence, and recognizing in this fraternal union a common parent in God the universal Lawgiver. It has been made apparent, from the comparison that has been instituted between our own practice in this respect, and that of other Churches, claiming, like ourselves, to be faithful witnesses of their Lord and Master, that, partly from circumstances, and partly from a more spiritual apprehension of His revealed will, it has been our special blessing to hold the truth in this matter with peculiar distinctness and consistency. The discussion of the duty of civil obedience, as received among us, has led us to a general exposition of the nature of government as it must be held by Christians; and, I trust it has been made to appear, that both the high sense of kingly power, which our formularies express, and the rational interpretation we practically apply to them, are the natural exponents

of the faith we cherish respecting the solemn ends unto which God has moulded society. It remains to be shewn, that our acknowledgment of the intimate and spiritual relation between the individual and civil interests of man, implies also the blending of Religion with the habits of social life, making them mutually reflect light and warmth upon each other, even from the highest and most solemn of our acts to the most habitual and apparently indifferent. That this union is not impracticable seems to be implied by the words of the Apostle*, "Whatsoever ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." For assuredly, if we are fully sensible how solemn and spiritual are the objects of the institution of society, we shall not lightly disregard any of the forms under which human tastes and passions develop themselves when subject to social restrictions. The good to which we know the whole is constantly tending, can only be the aggregate good of which the several parts are susceptible. Accordingly, the Church of which we are members, fully impressed as it is with the great truth which we have above explained, is not the less inclined to follow it to its consequences, and to connect the religion which it teaches professionally with the lesser matters of social life in the midst of which its occupation lies. This, however, is a proposition which our limits assuredly will not allow us fully to examine in detail: but it was remarked in the first of these discourses, that all the minor points in question would follow upon the establishment of the general view which the inquiry into civil obedience would introduce. Our

* 1 Cor. x. 31.

remaining object must be to shew that this is actually so ; that the cases are analogous one to another, and that the foundation we have laid is wide enough and firm enough to support both ; in which case we shall have no reason to regret our inability to pursue the subject throughout all its ramifications.

The method I propose to adopt in this inquiry, will be similar to that of the last. I will explain the view which the early Church took of certain of the most prominent of the customs of social life, with strict regard to the circumstances of the time. I hope to shew, that this view was regulated by circumstances precisely analogous to those which we have seen had so peculiar an influence upon its ideas of civil government ; which will furnish us with a strong argument in favour of the altered view which our altered circumstances have allowed us to assume in modern times.

We proceed then, in the first instance, to trace briefly the effect which the civil position of the primitive Christians had upon their social habits.

It has been seen that in the first ages the circumstances of society were such as necessarily to split in two directions the notions of religious obligation which obtained among men. Those who still adhered to the maxims of heathen antiquity respecting the national relations of the citizen ;—whether they were the vulgar, upon whom the long-uncontroverted maxims of the world operated as a second nature,—or the philosophers, who resorted to them for moral support, when their own visionary speculations failed to satisfy them, and their spirits yearned for the sympathies of their kind ;—neither of these could have any com-

munion of feeling with the Christians; to them the Scriptures were a sealed book, an unintelligible language; to them the new sect seemed to stand within a magic circle of its own, which if they strove to burst, they were withheld by the invisible arm of their immemorial prejudices. On the other hand, the believers could not but feel that the sources of their habits, sentiments, and judgments, were distinct from those of the pagan; that there could be no fellowship between them, no moral toleration one of the other: as Christians they were in the world, but not of it; nor could they be of the world, until the world and all that therein is should be merged in themselves.

This feeling of isolation, which we contend is not the true characteristic of Christianity in itself, however occasional circumstances may induce and justify it, was naturally impressed upon our first fathers by the contradiction their system offered to the political ideas of their fellow-men. Assuming this as its true origin, it will be matter of instruction for all times to contemplate the consequences it produced throughout their social relations. For the feeling we speak of is not confined to the primitive Christians: with or without reason, it has reappeared at many stages of our progress as a religious society; it has been the actual source of many of the most striking phenomena of religious history; it has been the secret or the avowed principle upon which sects have at all times diverged from the true and catholic Church; upon which whole classes within that Church have acted, most inconsistently as we think, and sometimes most perniciously: yet it is so natural a feeling, that there has never perhaps existed a reflective man who has

not at times embraced and acted upon it, who has not been through life harassed by it, as an ever-present temptation to abridge himself of the privileges of the Gospel. Before we proceed let us look more closely at the way in which it develops itself. The intimate communion which must exist between the members of any sect, or any number of persons, who act together as the primitive Christians were compelled to do, upon what would now be sectarian principles, must necessarily produce a peculiarity in their manners, in their phraseology, in their views of things within and without themselves, in their appreciation of the manners, the language, and the views of those from whom they are separated. It is not enough to be bound together by external symbols and formal observances: no symbols or observances can be so formal but they must imply a spirit which harmonizes with them, with mutual action and reaction; and this spirit will be ever peeping out from beneath the veil, it will tend perpetually to exhibit itself in new evergrowing peculiarities, not always expressed by definite forms and ceremonies, but sufficiently implied in the most casual acts, to be intelligible to the sensitive apprehensions of those who habitually contemplate it either from within or without. Hence the eternal flux of conventional phrases and such-like distinctions, succeeding one to another, as wave to wave; each successively falling into disuse when its pungency has evaporated and its influence subsided; each in its turn performing its work, that of binding together the members of the profession which it implies, and thrown aside also in its turn to make way for some other more stringent and startling limitation. And as it is with

the positive expressions of the particular creeds of which we speak, so is it also with their negative character. It is not what the sectarian professes or does only, but what he omits to do, and refuses to do, and denounces the doing of, which distinguishes him as he wishes to be distinguished. Living in the world like every creature of God, he must pass through the world; but the test of his profession is, to tread between the burning ploughshares of secular customs; and his spiritual counsellors are ever ready at the end to examine whether he have contracted any hurt. The tendency of this view of Christian duty is always to narrow the scope of religious life and conversation, and to carry men into the most minute calculations of the extent of the gospel promises. In vain do circumstances increase the number of believers and outward professors: new terms of communion must be invented, new limitations and standards must be erected; the end of religion is supposed to be distinction: this distinction, this separation, this isolation must be attained, though a man fly to the desert for it.

This was in a great measure the view which circumstances forced upon the early Christians, and the consequence was such as we have pointed out; namely, the perpetually-recurring tendency to retreat into sects or schools, which reached its extreme limits in the solitary or monastic life, as the point beyond which isolation could not be carried. And yet there was great inconsistency in their practice; there was inconsistency, as we shall presently see, in the exposition of that practice given on different occasions, even by the same teacher. For there was ever the Catholic spirit at work, growing with the expansion of the Catholic

society, and carrying it in the end triumphantly through the adverse circumstances of the times; the all-seeking, all-embracing, all-appreciating spirit, which rejoiced in any the smallest indication of similarity of feeling, and stretched itself forth on all hands, like the net of the apostles, to gather within its folds all that would, or could, or might be saved.

While we praise and admire and give thanks to God for this expansive spirit, by which the true idea of the ends and promises of Revelation has been preserved, we must not overlook the peculiar temptations under which the early Christians laboured to confine and stunt the growth of their own principles. They were forced to make distinctions which cannot apply to us, except by an utter violation of all principles of comparison. The literature, the manners, the tastes, most especially as exhibited in the public amusements, which constituted so prominent a part of the social institutions of antiquity, were so emphatically recognized by the people as the expression of their faith, and were so intimately bound up with the civil institutions from which the Christian was excluded, that to countenance them at all might seem a direct violation of the Christian profession. No matter what the spirit in which the Christian approached them, no matter what the obvious good he might effect in soothing prejudices, in removing misconstructions, in ennobling and eventually spiritualizing the tone of heathen manners;—this was a case in which there seemed to be no room for excuse or compromise: human nature and common sense revolted from the obvious impiety which they involved in the eyes of true believers.

I. While we acknowledge therefore the strong necessity, which existed at that time, for keeping aloof from these secular associations, the moral that may be drawn from the consequences that resulted from it may be not the less important. We are all familiar with the extent to which the heathen religions had consecrated Art in all its forms; and are well aware that the greater portion of the hold which they retained upon the faith and feelings of the people depended upon this element of their worship, and the discipline which it administered to their passions. As far as the use of pictures and statues, and such-like incentives to the imagination, could civilize men and redeem them from their coarse, sensual passions, as far as they could clear the ground for the seed of holy and spiritual feelings, they were undoubtedly, and must always be, an element of religious discipline; they must be recognized as an instrument of religious education as long as man requires to have his imaginative faculties cultivated in harmony with his intellectual and moral. The acute perception of this truth was the peculiar characteristic of the heathens: they had allowed it to hold so disproportionate a place in their ideas, they had cultivated it so much to the exclusion of the intellectual, and still more of the moral discipline which religion demands, that it came to be actually regarded, as it is too much at this day, as the outward sign of heathenism, as opposed to Christianity. The feelings of the early Christians revolted at it: they discountenanced the productions of art in every shape; they shrunk, as from pollution, from all the associations which it gathers around itself. This re-

mark does not apply merely to their exclusion of monuments of art from their churches, and their refusal to indulge themselves in the stimulants which may be thus applied to spiritual feelings, (in which practice we ourselves both wisely and consistently imitate them, from our experience of the dangers attending upon such indulgence;) but they carried the same principle into their conduct in social life, and seem studiously to have neglected the cultivation of the insight which art affords us into some of the most wonderful properties of our moral nature. In so doing they cut themselves off from the sympathies of a large portion of their fellow-men; they narrowed the legitimate sphere of their exertions. I repeat, that the feeling, in their particular case, was a just one: and yet the strange, may we not say, the perverse manner in which they reasoned upon their feeling seems alone sufficient to assure us that they were placed in a false position. To take a single instance: the well known passage in Isaiah describes the Messiah as one that shall be despised and rejected of men: "He hath no form or comeliness; and when we see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire Him*." "Is not this," seems to be the argument of Clement of Alexandria, "a declaration against all admiration of outward forms, an injunction to circumscribe all our natural sense of beauty to the contemplation of moral and spiritual harmonies†." Upon these feelings the Christians persevered in acting almost as long as heathenism continued to be the expression of antagonist sentiments: accordingly Eusebius, after describing a group of bronze figures he had

* Isaiah liii. 3.

† Clem. Alex. Pæd. III. 1, 3.

seen at Cæsarea Philippi, in which our Lord is represented healing the woman with the issue of blood, adds, that in this is nothing remarkable, inasmuch as he had frequently heard of the existence of pictures of Christ and the apostles, which he conceives to have been dedicated to them by heathens, who imagined that they had derived some signal benefit from their interposition, and thought in this way to do them honour, unadvisedly, (*ἀπαραφυλάκτως*,) after their heathen fashion*.

But it would seem that the human intellect cannot maintain itself erect and independent, without some support from the imagination. The pure intellectual conception of the truth was of too ethereal a nature to be held fast by the Christian multitude; the forms of art which might assist in raising the mind to that conception were denied them; they took refuge in conventional symbols: they signed their foreheads with the sign of the cross; they engraved monograms on their rings and seals; they represented by the simplest types, such as the lamb, or the fish, the character of their hopes and aspirations†. They shrunk from any assistance to the imagination which might divert the mind from the contemplation of the pure ideal of the Creator, and induce it to dwell upon outward excellence of the creature; but they resorted to fanciful resemblances,

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vii. 18.

† Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. xi. § 59. αἱ δὲ σφραγίδες ἡμῖν ἔστων πελίας ἢ ἰχθὺς ἢ ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα ἢ λύρα μουσικῇ, . . . ἢ ἄγκυρα ναυτικῇ . . . καὶ ἀλιεύων τις ἢ, ἀποστόλων μεμνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπωμένων παιδίων· οὐ γὰρ εἰδῶλων πρόσωπα ἐναποτυπωτέον, οἷς καὶ τὸ προσέχειν ἀπείρηται.

and fed their imagination upon mysteries which might indeed stimulate, but had no power to discipline and ennoble it. Was the principle upon which they proceeded in reality any better than that of the heathens from which they shrank? Have we not here an instance of the evil effect which must always ensue from violently thwarting the fundamental instincts of human nature?

II. Again, what was the conduct of the primitive Christians with reference to the social manners of the heathens, among whom they were placed? Here again we acknowledge the inconsistency it would have involved, under their peculiar circumstances, if they had entered freely into the habits of their neighbours. These also were, for the most part, bound up in strict combination with their religious feelings and associations, with the very same feelings upon which their civil institutions were founded. This was eminently the case with their great public spectacles, which were understood to be in reality ceremonies in honour of a Pagan divinity*, and involved a thousand profane

* The author of the little tract "*de Spectaculis*," printed among Cyprian's works, makes the idolatrousness of those ceremonies the gravamen of his charge against them, and places it in the front of his arguments: "*Quod enim spectaculum sine idolo, quis ludus sine sacrificio, quod certamen non consecratum mortuo? Quid inter hæc Christianus fidelis facit?*" he then proceeds to give a glowing picture of their licentiousness, such as, I trust, would be applicable to no spectacles in a Christian land; and concludes, "*hæc etiam si non essent simulacris dicata, adeunda tamen et spectanda non essent Christianis.*" Tertullian in his more elaborate treatise on the same subject, argues in the same manner and order: "*Commemorabimus origines singulorum, quibus incunabulis in sæculo adoleverint: exinde titulos quorundam, quibus nominibus nuncupentur: exinde apparatus, quibus superstitionibus instruantur: tum loca, quibus præsidibus dicentur: tum artes, quibus auctoribus deputentur. Si quid ex his non ad idolum pertinuerit, id neque*

associations in the minds of the multitudes who were collected to witness them. All connexion with these ceremonies was strictly interdicted to the true believers: there were indeed some who argued, "We cannot be all philosophers, and ascetics; we are plain folk, we cannot read, we cannot understand the Scriptures; who can expect this self-restraint from such as us*?" Others again would contend, we may suppose, more reasonably, that the infusion of Christian feelings into the spectators would mitigate the barbarity or the impiety of the spectacles; that it might in some degree check the licentiousness of the popular manners, by purifying the main source of the popular corruption. And when we consider the extraordinary influence which these public amusements had upon the excitable feelings of the nations of the south, the immense power they might exert for evil or for good over their tempers and their fashions;—when we consider, moreover, the remarkable modification which

ad idololatriam, neque ad nostram ejerationem pertinebit." (c. 4.) After completing this examination, he goes on (c. 14), as he says, "ex abundanti," to expose the intrinsic wickedness of these spectacles, and their unfitness for Christian eyes. Prudentius cont. Symm. II. 1101, describes the propitiatory ministrations of the vestal virgins, one of which was to assist as spectators in the amphitheatre:

Hoc illud meritum est, quod continuare feruntur
Excubias, Latii pro majestate Palati;
Quod redimunt vitam populi procerumque salutem;
Perfundunt quia colla comis bene, vel bene cingunt
Tempora tœniolis, et licia crinibus addunt?
Et quia subter humum lustrales testibus umbris
In flammam jugulant pecudes et murmura miscent?
An quoniam podii meliore in parte sedentes
Spectant, &c.....?

* Clem. Alex. Pæd. III. c. xi. § 78. ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες, φησί, φιλοσοφούμεν . . . γράμματα, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔμαθον . . . πίστις δὲ οὐ σοφῶν τῶν κατὰ κόσμον . . . ἢ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ γραμμάτων ἐκπαιδεύεται κ. τ. λ. See Neander's Kirchengesch. I. II. 474.

the example of Christian purity and humanity actually introduced into the manners of the Pagans, though silently and unacknowledged*; we cannot but regret,

* The higher moral tone of Greek and Roman philosophy in these times is justly attributed to the growing influence of Christian morality. A striking instance of the influence of Christian humanity upon the heathen world may be cited, in Julian's recommendation to erect hospitals (*Xenodochia*, asylums for poor strangers) in the large towns, in imitation of "the Galilæans." The whole of the Ep. 49. ad Arsacium refers to this emperor's projected reformation of the manners of the Pagan priesthood, in order to counteract the influence of the Christian clergy: *τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα ταῦτα ἀρκεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπομεν ὁ μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητά συνηύξησεν, ἡ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον;* With respect to the gladiatorial shows, they were never suppressed by authority. Constantine recommended their discontinuance (Gibbon, c. 30); but neither did he nor Honorius, to whom the honour is vulgarly assigned, issue any edict to abolish them. The passage at the end of Prudent. cont. Symm. is obviously only a pious suggestion:

Ille (Theodosius) urbem vetuit taurorum sanguine tingi:
 Tu mortes miserorum hominum prohibeto litari...
 Jam solis contenta feris infamis arena
 Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.

The story of the martyrdom of Telemachus may be true, but Salvianus, who wrote some time afterwards, still speaks of these games, "*ubi summum deliciarum genus est mori homines.*" See Beugnot. ii. 24. This writer affirms, that in the fourth century the gladiatorial shows were vehemently condemned by the Greek Pagans; but I question the application of the passage from Libanius, (ii. 156. Legat. ad Julian.) to which he refers. But it was from the Greeks undoubtedly that the Roman philosophers imbibed their repugnance to them. (V. Cicero Ep. Fam. vii. 1. Auctor. de Caus. Corr. Eloq. c. 29. Senec. Ep. 7.) It should be observed that the last of these writers alludes to the extenuation which is often admitted by the Christians, that the victims of the games were frequently convicted criminals. "*Sed latrocinium fecit aliquis: quid ergo? meruit ut suspendatur. Occidit hominem: qui occidit, ille meruit ut hoc pateretur: tu quid meruisti, miser, ut hoc spectes?*" An expression of Prudentius seems to hint that in his time this was always or generally the case:

Nullus in orbe cadat cujus sit pœna voluptas.

If so, some share in this mitigation of the atrocity of the games may not unreasonably be attributed to the tacit influence of Christian manners:
 for

humanly speaking, the necessity which existed for so long checking the exertion of its influence in this particular direction.

III. Another point frequently urged by the early Christian teachers, was the duty of abstaining from all civil and military employments. Here again we see the natural result of their position in relation to the civil power. The ground upon which the state claimed the services of its subjects, whether for the execution of civil or military functions, was established, in theory at least, upon the reciprocal duties of the governors and the governed, and the sacred obligation by which every member of the community was bound to contribute his good offices for the preservation of the national system. The Christian dispensation entered, at its origin, into none of these relations: a Christian individual who should exercise any authority among his fellow subjects, would be so far the representative of the secular power, the vicegerent of the emperor. But the emperor was the personification of heathenism: according to the sentiment of Tertullian*, the emperor existed for that secular state of which he was a necessary element; and this, he concluded,

for we cannot imagine that the solitary scruples of the philosophers could have any effect upon the multitude; and I am not aware of any other influence which could have had this tendency to humanize their feelings.

* Tertull. Apol. 21. "So far was Tertullian from the thought that the emperors themselves would ever become Christians, that he says, *Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares.*" Neander. Kirchengesch. i. ii. 460. The same father argues elsewhere in a higher strain of Christian philosophy, "*quem (imperatorem) necesse est suspiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, noster est magis Cæsar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus:*" Apol. c. 33. But if this might be alleged as the speculative, the other was in all probability the practical view of the early Christians.

was the reason why God permitted the emperors to continue unconverted. "The Cæsars," he says, "would have long since conformed to the faith, like so large a portion of their subjects, if either the world (*sæculum*) could exist without Cæsars, or Christians could be Cæsars themselves." "It may be all very well," was the argument of the heathen philosopher, "for a sect to refuse to take its fair share in secular affairs, but what would become of the state if all its subjects belonged to such a sect?" Origen does not appear to have contemplated the possibility of such an event; he was not prepared therefore for the natural solution of the difficulty which such a state of things would afford. But, leaving the more obvious defence of the Christian principles, he answers his opponent, in the first place, on his own grounds, as thus: "The Christians," he says, "are priests; not civil or military officers. It is their business to pray for the safety of the state, according to the exhortation of the apostle to Timothy*: 'I exhort that first of all, intercessions and prayers be made for all men, for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.' It is not their business to fight for it, or, as we may infer by implication, to exercise civil functions in its behalf. They may surely, as priests, assume the same position as your own priests do, who keep their hands pure, that they may offer no sacrifice with the stain of blood upon them. You do not compel them to go into the field: but they do you true service by praying for you and your social institutions. The Christians, however, serve the state in their own way better than

* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

the heathen, inasmuch as they educate citizens in the fear of the Lord, from whom proceeds the prosperity of the States." He concludes, however, with the more congenial and intelligible argument, "That the Christian state is another and a heavenly state, which the believers do serve with their hearts and hands; in which they have their own affairs and functions, to which they do devote themselves*."

There was, however, not only a confusion of ideas on this point among the primitive teachers, but uncertainty also, and inconsistency. Some referred to the Old Testament in confirmation of the opposite view, that the Christian profession does not incapacitate men from entering, for instance, into the military state. As military service was allowed to the Jew indifferently with any other occupations, why not also to the Christian? Both parties, however, could appeal to Scripture authority, and it was easy to allege specific texts in favour of either opinion. Our Saviour rebuked St. Peter, and commanded him to put up his sword. "He that disarmed the apostle," says Tertullian, "did thereby disarm from thenceforth every member of the Christian community †." On the other hand, our Lord seemed certainly

* Origen cont. Cels. lib. viii. pp. 426, 427. Ed. Spenc. Ἐιθ' ἐξης προτρέπειται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος ἀρήγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντι σθένει, καὶ συμπονεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συστρατηγεῖν. Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀρήγομεν κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι θεῖαν, ἢ οὕτως εἴπω, ἀρηξιν, καὶ πανοπλίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντες θεοῦ. κ. τ. λ. See Neander, K. G. i. ii. 461.

† Tertull. de Idol. c. 19. "Nunc de isto quæritur, an fidelis ad militiam converti possit, et an militia ad fidem admitti caligata, vel inferior quæque, cui non sit necessitas immolationum vel capitalium judiciorum. Non convenit sacramento divino et humano, signo Christi et signo Diaboli,

to countenance the military profession in the case of the believing centurion; and this authority could only be met by the compromise which the same father suggests, "that those who were already engaged in the service are not compelled to relinquish it upon conversion, but that the prohibition still holds against a believer embracing it*." This explanation could not, of course, be received as a satisfactory solution of the question. As a proof that it was unsatisfactory, might be alleged the decision of the Church on a similar point. We find an express enactment of an early council, apparently in conformity with the general sentiments of the believers, by which the performers in the public spectacles could not be admitted into the Church, unless they abandoned their profession, and faithfully promised not to resume it†. Nevertheless, this uncertainty continued still to exist in the minds of men: in the third century, the ranks of the Roman armies were crowded with Christian soldiers; notwithstanding, among the later instances of Christian martyrdom, is that of a youth, who refused to enlist, who refused,

castris lucis et castris tenebrarum; non potest una anima duobus deberi, deo et Cæsari quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit, sine gladio *quem et Dominus abstulit*? nam et si aderant milites ad Joannem, et formam observationis acceperant; si etiam centurio crediderat; *omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit.*"

* De Cor. Mil. c. 11. "Plane si quos militia præventos fides posterior invenit, alia conditio est." See Neander, K. G. 1. ii. 463.

† Neander, 1. ii. p. 440. This was a canon of the council of Elvira in Spain, A. D. 305, "Si auriga et pantomimus credere voluerint, placuit ut prius actibus suis renuntient et tunc demum suscipiantur, ita ut ulterius ad ea non revertantur. Qui si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia." Can. 62.

that is, to put round his neck the badge of national, and therefore heathen service*.

IV. With regard, in the last place, to the countenance which our ancestors bestowed upon literature, we perceive the same difficulty still inherent in their position. Heathen literature stood in a very different relation to them from that which secular literature must hold with us. Expressing as it did the feelings of polytheism, appealing as it did for its popularity to the approval of those who took a religious as well as an intellectual interest in the mythology of antiquity, it was in direct hostility to Christianity. It was not the indifferent literature of indifferent or thoughtless men, which a little countenance and a little tact may turn to good; but it was the avowed and active and dangerous enemy of the truths from which it was alien. It was not as with us, a dead literature, the fragments of a by-gone world, the broken links of the chain by which we trace the identity of our nature through all ages: it was a living and a

* In the year 295, on the occasion of a levy of recruits being raised in Numidia, a youth named Maximilian refused to serve. Being brought before the proconsul, he persisted in this refusal on the ground of the sinfulness of military service in a Christian. The proconsul contemptuously orders the badge to be hung round his neck, and upon his continued refusal to wear it, reminds him how many of his persuasion were at that moment serving in the body-guard of the emperor and Cæsars. But these representations are of no avail, and the young man's head is struck off. This occurrence preceded the persecutions of Diocletian and Galerius, and shews that no greater impediment was thrown in the way of Christian service at that period than what has been described. The last persecution, however, had its origin in a general order that was issued by Galerius, that the whole army should assist in offering some national sacrifices. Even then the greater number of the Christian soldiers were suffered to evade the order by retiring from service. Some violent proceedings of one of them, named Marcellus, seem to have fixed the determination of the government. See Neander, K. G. i. i. 226, 229.

growing literature, confirming the prejudices of actual living men, extending, perhaps, the dominion of a formal untruth, identifying the present with the past, appealing from the fears and misgivings of a degenerate era to the glories of the ancient world, giving the only assurance that there now remained to give, that the sufferings of the present and the forebodings of the future might yet be averted by standing upon the ancient ways. It was an abiding evidence that all things had not passed away, that all things could not yet become new. There is no case of the overthrow of an ancient creed in which there has been made so eager and uniform an appeal to the past and the wisdom and prosperity of antiquity, as in that of the gradual demolition and indignant struggles of the imperial paganism*. There was no instrument by which these sentiments could be so warmly cherished as by the ancient literature, the spirit of which still lingered in the world. There was therefore no element of social life so dangerous to the progress of Christianity. Accordingly, in the earlier ages at least, the Christians were compelled to conquer whatever sympathy they might have had with it as men of

* The language of Symmachus is dignified and pathetic; "*Romani nunc putemus assistere, atque his vobiscum agere sermonibus: optimi principes, patres patriæ, reveremini annos meos, in quos me pius ritus adduxit. Utar cæremoniis avitis; neque enim pœnitet. Vivam more meo; quia libera sum. Hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit: hæc sacra Hannibalem a mœnibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt. Ad hoc ergo servata sum, ut longæva reprehendar? Videro quod instituendum putatur; sera tamen et contumeliosa emendatio senectutis.*" *Relat. Symm. c. 9.* This oration is, I believe, the only formal apology for Paganism to which the pride of Rome condescended: the sentiments of its advocates are principally to be gathered from the language of the Christian apologists. See particularly the opening of *Arnob. adv. Gentes.*

moral and intellectual acquirements. Among their earlier writers the allusions to it are, I believe, few, and their acquaintance with it seems to have been but small*. Yet they did not discard intellectual education, although they shrank from what we judge to be one of the principal means of advancing it. They resorted to the schools of the rhetoricians, which supplied another and less directly dangerous discipline of the mind. It was not their fault, but the misfortune of their position which drove them to a system of education which was in all probability the source of many of their moral and intellectual errors; which produced, in so many instances, the strange combination, as it must appear to us, of noble feelings and manly understandings with a captiousness and sophistry unworthy of themselves or their cause. When, however, the danger had abated, and paganism had received its death blow, we find a much more general study of ancient literature prevalent in the schools of the believers; and the generous and liberal judgment of St Chrysostom, himself the most splendid instance of the superiority of this

* Clement of Alexandria, one of the most learned men, we may suppose, of his own or any age, and therefore naturally inclined to set the highest value upon learning, qualifies his recommendation of the study of the heathen philosophy, as an accessory to Christian knowledge, with the utmost care and circumspection. He sums up his view of the subject in the following words: *αὐτοτελής μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπροσδεής ἡ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα διδασκαλία, δύναμις οὖσα καὶ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· προσιοῦσα δὲ φιλοσοφία ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ οὐ δυνατωτέρα ποιεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον παρέχουσα τὴν καθ' αὐτῆς σοφιστικὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, καὶ διακρονομένη τὰς δολερὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιβουλάς φραγμὸς οἰκείος εἶρηται καὶ θριγκὸς εἶναι τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος· καὶ ἡ μὲν ὡς ἄρτος ἀναγκαία πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἡ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀλήθεια· ἡ προπαιδεία δὲ προσουψήματι ἔοικεν καὶ τραγήματι.* Strom. i. 20. § 99, 100.

more enlarged discipline in the formation of the Christian character, is strikingly in accordance with the views which modern times have sanctioned, and which we, of all men, are taught to hold in reverence. "He well knew," says a modern historian of the Church, "that science cannot supply the place of Christianity, nor can it by any means make a man a Christian of itself, neither is it at all requisite to give a man an insight into the main principles of his religion; nevertheless he was far from giving in to the blind zeal of the declaimers against it. He well knew that science by no means stands in a hostile position with reference to Revelation; but that, like every thing human, it may be appropriated by Christianity and turned to its own service." Accordingly we find him insisting upon the importance of a studied and disciplined eloquence in preaching; such as a knowledge of human nature and familiarity with the modes of human thought can alone supply. "It is not with sounding words," he says, "but with understanding, with experience in the Scriptures, and vigour of thought, that the Bishop must be endowed. See ye not, how Paul turned the whole world unto the truth, with mightier power than Plato and all the rest? yes, by the power of his miracles, you say;—no, not by his miracles only; study the history of the Acts and you will see that he was often victorious by his preaching before he exerted his miraculous powers*." In another place, he argues

* S. Chrys. Hom. 11. in Tit. οὐκ ὕρᾳς Παῦλον τρεψάμενον τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν, καὶ μειζόνως ἰσχύσαντα καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων; ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, φησὶν· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων μόνον· εἰ γὰρ ἐπέλθοις τὰς πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, πολλαχού ἐρήσεις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας κρατοῦντα καὶ πρὸ τῶν σημείων.

more directly to our purpose: Christ first employed his uneducated disciples in the work of conversion, to shew his power and independence of human means; he afterwards called men of education to the task: in the same manner as he said unto them, "When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, lacked ye anything? and they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one*."

We have thus seen how the peculiar and direct contrast in which Christianity stood to the civil institu-

S. Hieron. ep. ad Pamm. (101). In loquendo simplicitatem excusabit sanctimonix magnitudo, et syllogismos Aristotelis contortaque Chrysippi verba resurgens mortuus confutabit. Cæterum ridiculum si quis e nobis, manens inter Cræsi opes et Sardanapali divitias, de sola rusticitate se jactet. Neander, Chrysost. p. 103.

* S. Chrys. Hom. 111. in 2 Corinth. See Neander's Life of Chrysostom, p. 103, and the whole of the "Excursus upon the views of the requisites for the Clerical office entertained in his time." p. 97 and foll. The edict of Julian, by which he attempted to discourage heathen learning among the Christians, shews the importance which both parties attached at that time to this branch of education. He interdicted the profession of the science of rhetoric and literature (*magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos*, Amm. Mar. xxii. 10.) and of medicine, as well as military service, (*ἱητροὺς καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ σοφιστὰς καὶ ῥήτορας*, Chrys. Hom. 40. in Juv. et Max.) to all persons who would not abjure Christianity. Constantine had first opened the schools of the rhetoricians, which seem to have included the teachers of literature generally, to the Christians, and they had already succeeded in surpassing the Pagans in popularity. Julian himself (Ep. 42) mentions Homer, Hesiod, and others, among the writers upon whose works the Christian professors discoursed: *τὶ οὖν; Ὁμήρῳ μέντοι καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Δημοσθένει μέντοι καὶ Ἡροδότην καὶ Θουκυδίδην καὶ Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Λυσία θεοὶ πάσης ἡγοῦνται παιδείας. . . . ἄτοπον μὲν οἶμαι τοῦς ἐξηγουμένους τὰ τούτων ἀτιμάζειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τιμηθέντας θεοὺς*. Beugnot, 1. 194. This edict did not long remain in force, but in the mean while we learn that the Christians thought it necessary to supply their loss by composing scriptural pieres upon classical models.

tions of the pagan world, introduced inconsistency and confusion into all the social relations of the believers; and how immediate a tendency it had to make them isolate themselves from their fellow men, and retire within a narrower sphere of usefulness than under other circumstances religion is destined to fill. We need hardly repeat, that this, their false position, was not the result of their own conception of the Christian precepts, but of the external circumstances in which they found themselves. The Alexandrian school of theology was not a fair representative of the practical working of the principles of the early Christians; but it does seem to have been no unfair speculative deduction from them. It was that school which carried out to its extreme theoretical consequences the prevalent tendency of the early Christians towards separation from secular affairs, and the construction of a new spiritual society, which should literally be in the world, but not of it; a tendency which seems to have controlled and shaped their conduct, and to have exercised more or less of practical influence upon them, throughout the primitive ages. Not the theatres only but the tribunals also are likened equally by one of the most eminent of that school to the seats of the scornful, in which the righteous man must not sit: and the same writer describes the perfect Christian as one who avoids the marketplaces and haunts of men, and feeds in solitude upon the contemplation of God, that so he may attain to the true and crowning knowledge which is the completion of the Christian character.* From this point, how easy the

* Bp. Kaye's *Clement of Alex.* p. 466. "Clement quotes a passage from the *Theætetus* of Plato as descriptive of the life of Christians in his

steps to the monastic system, to which it seems actually to have led; how easy so to dazzle ourselves with the contemplation of the Divinity, as to be blinded to the social obligations of humanity; to decline the race which God has appointed us to contest one with another, saying to us all in common, So run that ye may obtain.

Now if there be any truth in this view of the causes and consequences of the reserve practised by the believers of the primitive Church in their intercourse with the heathens, does it not contain the elements of instruction for all times, and may it not be made to bear directly upon the opinions and practices which prevail around us? For this is the reserve which is held up to us for imitation, not only by sects which have split away from our communion, but by parties within it. This is the inconsistent practice which must have the same evil effects in the modern as the primitive times, without the counterbalancing good. The error, as it would seem, of the

day; from which it would appear that they abstained as much as possible from all public business, and kept themselves aloof from all meetings, whether of a political or convivial character. Though present in their bodies on earth, they had their conversation in heaven. This description, however, must be understood to apply rather to the Gnostic or perfect Christian, than to the common believer; of whose life Clement draws a picture in the eleventh chapter of the third book of the *Pædagogus*. In one instance he couples together the theatres and tribunals of justice as alike to be avoided by the Christian, under the title of *the seats of the scornful*, (Ps. i. 1. καθέδρα λοιμοῦ in the Sept.)" The word which the Bishop renders by "tribunals of justice" is σταδῖον, which, from the context (*Pæd.* iii. xi. p. 298 ed. Pott.) and from *Strom.* vii. p. 876, seems to mean more strictly the "place of execution." But the idea in either case is the same, that the sight of death and suffering, however justly inflicted, is as much a contamination to Christian eyes, as the blood upon which the Pagans gloated in the amphitheatre.

sectarian principle, in later ages, has lain in making no distinction between that which is heathen and that which is secular. It has adopted the word Secular in the sense which it bore among the early fathers as identical with Heathen; for to them the fashions of this world, which the word implies, were necessarily heathen fashions. But to us the fashions of the world, however much of frivolity, of indifference, of licentiousness they may involve, can hardly have the consistency and determination to evil which is incident to a heathen system. At all events, they cannot be that outward symbol of a God-denying idolatry, which throws a formal defiance in the face of Revelation. The fact is self-evident, that in every natural exercise of the human mind, there is the seed both of good and of evil; that it depends entirely upon the nurture that is bestowed upon it, whether it be turned to the service of God or of Satan. It is possible, that what Satan has already seized and perverted to his own service may spread a moral contagion around, which may prohibit all approach and intercourse. It may be as the accursed thing which was to be put forth from the camp of Israel. It may be necessary to deliver it over to the wrath of God: but as long as there can be any hope of snatching it from so deplorable a fate, it is assuredly the true character of Christianity to exert itself in the attempt, making itself all things to all men, if it may by any means save some. For how small would be the province which religion would possess in human nature, if its dominion were confined to those thoughts and those actions of a man which could have a reference directly religious. On the other hand, how

vast and exclusive might be its empire, if it could by any means extend its influence to that great proportion of them which are in their nature indifferent, but are capable of receiving a religious direction! How vast is the complication of affections by which man is connected with his fellows, and united in the pursuit of common objects! how illimitable is the extent of the subjects with which the reason of man is daily conversant, all appealing to different tastes and feelings and principles of his nature! When we reflect upon our own fleeting thoughts, how even at this moment, while we are trying to fix our attention on the matter in hand, our imperfect natures are at the mercy of a thousand importunate distractions;—when we observe that even within this temple, dedicated as it is to the service of religion, hallowed as it is by religious associations, breathing as it does an atmosphere of religious feelings, the eye is crowded with images which are more directly connected with a thousand tastes and impulses of our nature, than with that religious principle which they are intended to subserve:—when we think of all this, shall we not exclaim,—How wide is the domain of human nature, how rich its soil, how goodly its products:—how glorious an empire is that promised land for which Christ came, conquering and to conquer!

Accordingly from the moment when the Church of Christ was released from the thralldom in which it had been kept by paganism; when it no longer had an active enemy in every city and every village, jealously watching it, and taking every opportunity, fair and foul, to seduce or undermine it;—from that

moment its catholic and liberal spirit began to shake itself free from the trammels of its earlier discipline, and to assert the genuine extent of its mission to civilize the world. I have already rested for a moment on the early developement of this spirit in relation to secular learning; it is well known how fully the general principle which was therein involved was carried out in the course of ages, and applied to all the details of art and science, of taste and philosophy. It is not for us to follow out these details; but it is worth our while to allude once more to the principle, because it constitutes a remarkable feature in the views, I may say, perhaps, the policy of the Church in the middle ages. It seems to me, then, to have been the policy of the Church, to observe narrowly every new channel which the human mind struck out for its tastes and sentiments, and immediately to convert it to religious purposes, immediately to assert to the world that it was an organ of spiritual good, and claim it as a light from heaven. Thus it was at the first dawn of the arts in modern Europe: the Church perceived how important they might become for good or for evil, for Christianity or against it, and she threw open her temples to their service, she moulded her rites so as to set them forth to advantage, she afforded them such patronage as no other power could bestow, and bound them to her side as allies for ever. Who shall deny that in so doing, although her practice degenerated eventually to a pernicious extreme, she acted a liberal and a Christian part, that she exalted and spiritualized the tone of Art, and gave a noble impulse to the civilization of the souls of men? In the same man-

ner, at the period of the first struggles of the human intellect, when the schoolmen began to inquire after the substantial truth of the words by which the world had so long been guided; when many a sagacious churchman was looking anxiously for the upshot of this restless activity, and trembling for the ark of God, which was to be launched upon the unknown and unfathomed waters of human speculation:—then was it that the Church lengthened her cords and strengthened her stakes;—then was it that she exercised all her tact and all the wisdom of her gray hairs, and converted philosophy to her views by enshrining it in Christian universities. On all sides arose the seats of learning whose fame has rung through modern Europe: they offered cloisters for meditation, they opened lists for dispute; they enticed into their walls all the learning and all the speculation of the age. And every one of these universities was a handmaid of the Church; in all its forms and ceremonies it ministered to the service of that mistress; all its studies it hallowed with a spiritual tone; it subdued the passions of its students with religious associations. Like the sun in the fable, it mildly solicited the proud philosopher to throw aside the integuments of reserve and sullen scepticism, and open his bosom to the gentle airs of its heavenly teaching. And well did the Church succeed; well was her pious and Christian system repaid. In those days she allowed, to an extent that our own Church in our own days alone has equalled, the exercise of discursive investigation on philosophical subjects. And to an extraordinary extent did she effect an union between those ancient rivals, the spi-

ritual and intellectual capacities of man. Well had it been for her had she continued to enlarge upon that same policy, and not been tempted, by the prospect of an easier method of conquest, to place the temporal power in the van of her array at a later period of danger. Here then are two distinct instances of the way in which a religious institution, founded in truth, and having truth for its object, may make use of the natural instincts by which society is possessed, and control and modify them to its own legitimate advantage. I believe it might be shewn that the whole history of the foundation and early progress of our European universities, is an illustration of the same wise and pious policy in the Church. At the first origin of the most ancient of those institutions, that of Paris, while it was yet confined to the single faculty of arts, that is, of grammar, logic, and philosophy, it was placed under the superintendence of the chancellor of the church with which it was in immediate connection. When to this were added the faculties of theology, law, and medicine, the supreme authority over the university, in its complete state, was vested in the metropolitan Bishop*. It was by such

* Malden, *Origin of Universities*, p. 5, &c. Again, (p. 100), "In all Universities, the chancellor was 'the fountain of honour,' the officer by whose authority degrees were conferred; *and this dignity gave considerable power*.....The bishop of the diocese was very often the chancellor... and if not the bishop, some other ecclesiastical dignitary. In the German Universities, the chancellor was generally the bishop. In England, it happened *fortunately for the Universities*, that neither Oxford nor Cambridge was a bishop's see, nor were the early schools connected with any ecclesiastical body. It came to pass therefore, that by immemorial custom they elected their own chancellor...*No layman however was elected chancellor until the Reformation.*" I do not pretend to be further conversant with the details of this subject, than in as far as they are to be learnt

means as these, and the regulations consequent upon them, that the students of the two latter professions were reminded of the intimate connexion in which every science to which the human intellect can be devoted, ought to stand with the practice and theory of religion. It is assuredly no modern discovery, that "knowledge puffeth up;" and that every science, aye and theology among the rest, has a vicious tendency in itself to make men proud and carnal. Every science which deserves the name, that is, which rests upon laws and principles, and is not a mere collection of experiments, has this tendency, because it professes to satisfy the natural yearning after systems and harmonies, which is the source of all human speculation. Thus, for instance, the elements of legal process and of medical art are more or less interesting to the minds of all men, and our curiosity may be very readily excited to inquire into the principles upon which these are founded, the laws according to which every separate phenomenon finds its appropriate place, and harmonizes with every other. These inquiries may lead us far, very far, into the recesses of human nature, and the secrets of the physical world; they may exalt and expand our apprehension of the wonderful things around us, and of the divine capacity of the intellect to which all these things are put in a certain subordinate relation. Thus far they are good: but they contain, undoubtedly, an element of evil, by which many souls have made shipwreck, inasmuch as they thus furnish an end in which specu-

learnt from the slight sketch referred to; but it contains enough to satisfy me, that the idea of founders, students, and society generally, was that the Church was the natural guardian and director of all institutions of this kind.

lation may rest and be satisfied: they fulfil, as far as such a term may be applied to any thing human, the object proposed by the student, for each of them is a world in miniature, a Microcosmus in itself; they do, indeed, indistinctly point to other analogies and other harmonies, and confess, if closely interrogated, that their system is only a portion of the Macrocosmus; that like our sun, and all his circling satellites, they are only a sample of God's infinite creation: nevertheless, furnishing as they do a distinct and tangible solution of some, at least, of this world's riddles, the weary soul is only too well pleased to take up its everlasting rest upon a fragment and atom of the truth. It must be the object, therefore, of the Church, wherever it has the power, to prevent the study of any science from standing alone and independent: it must strive to keep them all in strict combination, first with each other, and ultimately with its own spiritual teaching: it must tell the jurist, and the physician, and the metaphysician, and the mathematician alike, that their sciences are only as it were the corners of the sheet which God lets down from heaven to his beloved disciples, containing every good and wonderful product of his creation, and none among them common or unclean. There can be little doubt, I think, that in thus leading the mind of the student from his own subsidiary science to the divine principles to which they are in truth subordinate, the Church has in fact exalted the character of each of these sciences, as well as of its professors. Law indeed has been considered a liberal profession in every civilized country; yet even the estimation of the jurist was exalted in the middle ages, by his being so

often at the same time a theologian and churchman : but it may be fairly conjectured that it was to the system of the universities, as we have explained it above, that the physician owes his emancipation from the servile condition which the ancient world assigned to him.

These are a few only of the instances which might be alleged of the manner in which the Church, in the times of which we speak, regarded its divine commission, as a witness of Christ and his spiritual kingdom in the midst of a perverse generation. Far be it from me to extenuate the difficulty and the danger attendant, in these and other cases, upon the exercise of the rights and duties of such an institution. But it is by precisely such trials as these that the faith and purity of Christian men must be tested ; it is herein that must be hazarded that combination of the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, which our Lord demands. Trials they are under which human nature might assuredly sink ; but we have the promise of our Master that he will be with us to the end of the world ; therefore let no man shrink and take his hand from the plough. Whatever be the inherent viciousness of human passions, whatever the natural tendency of human institutions to turn to evil and to corruption, let it be the principle of our faith, that Christianity is truly the salt of the earth, a savour indeed of death unto death, but a savour also of life unto life. What then must be the spirit by which Christianity shall subdue all these things unto itself ? What temper must it infuse into the hearts of men, to purify the sources of their passions and interests ? How must it train them as they grow, guide them

as they develope themselves? how shew an interest about the things in which nature interests herself, and from being her handmaid rise to be her mistress? The answer seems to lie in the character of that revelation itself, and the new and absorbing truth with which it is instinct. In an architectural design, a careless and uninstructed eye will be struck with a variety of lines, running towards different points, with no apparent law or principle; a closer and juster observation will detect a prevalent direction, a leading idea; the character of the building will be determined by a few master lines, which will train up the eye in their own course, reduce every other into subordination, and impart an harmonious expression to the whole. So it is with the various features of the Christian dispensation; our religion is not a mere bundle of moral maxims, a mass of miracles, a multitude of fulfilled prophecies; it is a systematic revelation both of facts and doctrines, all leading towards a definite point, and clustering round the central act of the Resurrection, which is the life and spirit of the whole. For this is the doctrine which most distinctly combines the fact of the Saviour's humanity with his divinity, and assures us thereby, that we too have a divine as well as a human principle in our nature, and that death is the victory of the one over the other. This it is that throws over the whole system of our Christian warfare the character of a preparation and discipline for the peace that is to follow; it assures us that even this life is a state of gradual transition, in which there is no pause nor rest on this side the grave; but that in the transactions of every day and hour, "if we go not forward,

we fall backward." This, then, is the heaven-pointing spire of our Christian temple. Without this the eye would have no definite resting-place; there would be lines here and lines there, crossing and confusing each other, as in a barbarous mosque or pagoda; there would be a want of harmony, a want of object, a want of a leading idea.

It is by infusing this doctrine into the heart of man, that his connexion with secular affairs may be made a matter of spiritual interest. He will perceive in every exertion of the human mind a manifestation of this appetency for future perfection. He will recognize in it a pledge of the certainty of his faith, and he will regard it with the more care and tenderness and piety, in consideration of the comfortable assurance which it imparts. In every production of art, in every conclusion of science, in every discursive flight of the imagination, he will discover the divine workings of one common instinct; an instinct which sways the faculties of the natural man, though in darkness and ignorance, but which opens the eyes of the believer to the designs of Providence, and points to them as to a light set upon a hill. He will learn, that from God's creative hands comes forth nothing common or unclean; but that as all men are members of one spiritual body, so are all their interests capable of a holy and spiritual application. Religion, he will say, is the great alchemist, turning all things, the most indifferent, to spiritual uses—transmuting every metal into gold. How truly then is she the fulfilment of the natural law! how well did Christ say that he came among us not to destroy, but to fulfil!

This seems to be the view which the Church of Christ has generally recognized and acted upon from the time when it became free to follow its own impulses. That all its caution and circumspection should have been insufficient to guard it at times from falling into error and excess, and deviating from the strait path which its Founder has assigned to it, is surely neither to be made a matter of wonder, nor of undue crimination. During the period, indeed, that the Church of Rome successfully usurped the place of the Church of Christ, these views were in some cases unduly exaggerated, in others forgotten or suppressed. In every thing tending to temporal power and aggrandizement, the error was of the former kind; in every thing relating to intellectual cultivation, it lay in the opposite direction. There are symptoms even now observable of a recurrence in that Church, at least in the case of the latter of these subjects, to the more ancient and sounder principles. How it shall be able to reconcile the inconsistency of its practice, still more how it shall succeed in combining these principles with the maintenance of its present system, are questions of high importance indeed to the whole Christian world, but still only of secondary interest to ourselves. Let us look to our own principles, and our own practice; of which, if I mistake not, the model has been already so closely described, that but few words will be necessary to connect the copy with the original. For has not the direct object of the teaching of our Church been to infuse this spirit of Christianity into secular affairs; to teach men that a sacred responsibility attaches to every action, inas-

much as every action is something lost or something gained with reference to our hopes of immortality? For instance, how entirely is the feeling infused into our civil institutions of a Providence that watches over human society, saving us or rejecting us according to our deeds in the flesh. Examples will readily occur to us, such as the recognition of the heads of the Church as temporal peers, the summoning of convocation by the civil authority, the opening of the deliberations of parliament with prayer, and of the assizes with divine service. From the coronation of the Sovereign down to the trial of the meanest action, a Christian sanction is given in each case to the compact with which it is attended; we are pledged by our hopes of immortality. So intimately, indeed, is religion connected in our institutions with the outward form of civil government, that there is none of the political services, as they are sometimes most unfairly termed, in our Liturgy, which does not, while commemorating a political event, signalize at the same time an era in the history of our religion. There is not one of them which does not commemorate the gain or loss of the Church as a body responsible for the souls of men. It may be true indeed, that in some of the instances we have mentioned, the spiritual application of the ceremony has become obsolete in the eyes of many in this generation; that its vivifying spirit is recognized in its full extent by few among us. It may be so; and it is indeed too true, that the ancient principles upon which our Church rests have lost their influence upon many, both within and without her precincts. Yet as long as they are

still maintained by her temporal guardians, and defended by her appointed ministers; as long as their obligation is urged upon the consciences of her children, we will continue to claim for her the distinction to which she is truly entitled, of "fulfilling the Law" in the part she takes in secular affairs.

Let me in conclusion allude to one other instance in which we are ourselves more nearly interested. Has it not been most emphatically the principle of our Church to infuse the spirit of religion into all branches of secular learning? Has she not in our schools and universities sanctioned the view which she inherited through a long succession of ages, that all knowledge contains within itself one element of spiritual and another of carnal tendency; and that it is her duty no less than her interest, to cultivate the one, in order to check the spontaneous vegetation of the other? Theology, or the knowledge of God, is in the language of some of our formularies, "*finis studiorum*," the end of all knowledge. And therefore it is that we encourage the pursuit of secular learning, of art, science, and literature. We do not merely permit them, as things indifferent, which we too surely know they can never be; we do not reluctantly concede them a place in our course, in order to blazon it forth to the world that Theology and Religion are not afraid of them, and may use them as a foil to set off their own divine character and objects. On the contrary, we assert that they possess a substantive utility and importance of their own. We recognize them, in their ennobling tendencies and heavenward aspirations, as pledges of the immortality for which we look; and we contrive that the insti-

tutions we devote to their encouragement shall be such as to keep this view perpetually before us. We connect them in every quarter with religious associations and Christian observances; the entire principle of our establishments is, that whether learning or teaching we do all to the glory of God, and in the hope of winning unto ourselves glory hereafter.

Enough, perhaps, has now been said to give a general view of the principles which have been claimed for our Church, and to shew that they are both rational and scriptural, and have been sanctioned by the example of the Church catholic, from which we have either inherited, or imitated them. Further, an important distinction has been pointed out between our own position and that of the primitive Christians, in order to account for the discrepancy between our practice and theirs, and to meet the objections which the sectarian spirit has so unreasonably advanced against us upon that score. I cannot but be deeply sensible how inadequate my limits, my knowledge, and my abilities have proved, to combine under one view the various and mighty subjects into which my inexperience has already led me. In conclusion, however, I cannot refrain from anticipating some of the solemn reflections which will have been suggested to my hearers. I might proceed to expatiate upon the advantages which have accrued experimentally from the principles I have urged, both to the character of religion and the manners of the world. I might boast of the success of our pure and reformed institutions, in retaining in sincere communion with the Church those whom worldly luxuries and worldly learning have elsewhere hardened

against the knowledge of Christ. I might point to the large share which religious reflection occupies in the thoughts even of those among us, to whom the preaching of the gospel is not a profession. It is the common remark of foreigners, that there is no country in which theological knowledge is so generally found among the laity as in this. Assuredly a church can have no brighter jewel in its crown than this; proving as it does, that the extent of such knowledge among the clergy must be duly proportionate, together with the moderation and honesty of that body in the use of their legitimate influence.

In short, from the close connexion of our Church with secular affairs, together with her intimate relations with every class of the community, and familiarity with every topic of general or particular interest, she cannot fail to become an index of the national mind: she must partake of and faithfully express the character of every crisis in which she is successively placed. Accordingly, during a period of national inaction, the Church was comparatively inactive: closely bound up as she was with the views and interests of the community, she could not, perhaps, get in advance of her age, and guide it into any new developement of its character. That this must be very generally the defect of such a system as has been described, it is not pretended to deny; but if this was the defect of our Church, on the other hand the permanence she could impress upon institutions and opinions was a counterbalancing advantage. She could not have been the sheet-anchor of the constitution and the inviolate guardian of moral truth;—she could not have thrown a resistless weight into the scale of political contro-

versies, she could not have been made the test and arbiter of moral and intellectual investigation, had she not been the express image of the national mind, and truly represented the mass of its sentiments and opinions. Her roots are struck into a far deeper soil than the fleeting and superficial fashions of society, whose principles are the sport of every wind of doctrine. She has been roused slowly and gradually by the same events that have awakened the energy and power of the nation. In intelligence, in activity, in earnestness, she assumes her natural position in the community. She will exert a tacit influence upon it, gradually tincturing the mass of society with the spiritual principles with which she is herself imbued; yet the cause and the effect of the change will be so closely interfused that few will be able to pronounce which has first acted upon the other. While, therefore, she retains her present political position, and recognizes the religious views which have been claimed for her, she will undoubtedly remain what she has so long been, a type of the nation itself. The time has not yet arrived to appreciate her character as such. We still dwell upon the spiritual glories of an earlier age, the age of individual learning, the age of our great men. The time is coming when we too shall receive our share of spiritual glory; when the effect of our generous education will be appreciated, which has impelled us to seize the peculiar advantages which our own times afford us, the means of combination and diffusion. Ours will be called the age of great designs. That was the Church, it will be said, that went forth in all the prodigality of her zeal and power, scattering the seeds of truth to

the right and to the left, on sea and on shore, on stony ground and on good ground. She it was who peopled every shore with missionaries, from whose loins have sprung the goodly communities of the East and the West. She it was to whom was given as it were a gift of tongues, so that every nation under the sun heard her speaking to them in the language in which they were born. It was to her that every Persuasion and Obedience looked, till the shadows of their ignorance fell like scales from before them. She was indeed a Church set upon a hill, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of her Master's people! And surely, when the promised kingdom of Christ shall really come, and his standard shall tremble over the nations assembled under the rock of Zion, it shall be said, Behold the Church whom our Lord delighteth to honour, because she was indeed a faithful witness in an unfaithful generation, ever exclaiming, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God."



THREE LETTERS

TO THE

REV. W. PALMER,

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

ON THE NAME 'PROTESTANT;'

ON THE SEEMINGLY AMBIGUOUS CHARACTER OF THE
ENGLISH CHURCH;

AND ON THE BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

With an Appendix,

CONTAINING SOME REMARKS ON A PAMPHLET OF J. R. HOPE, ESQ.,
ENTITLED 'THE BISHOPRIC OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND
AND IRELAND, AT JERUSALEM, CONSIDERED IN A LETTER
TO A FRIEND.'

BY F. D. MAURICE, A.M.,

CHAPLAIN OF GUY'S HOSPITAL, AND PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

LONDON:

J. & G. RIVINGTON & CO., ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD; AND
DARTON AND CLARK, HOLBORN HILL.

1842.

LONDON :

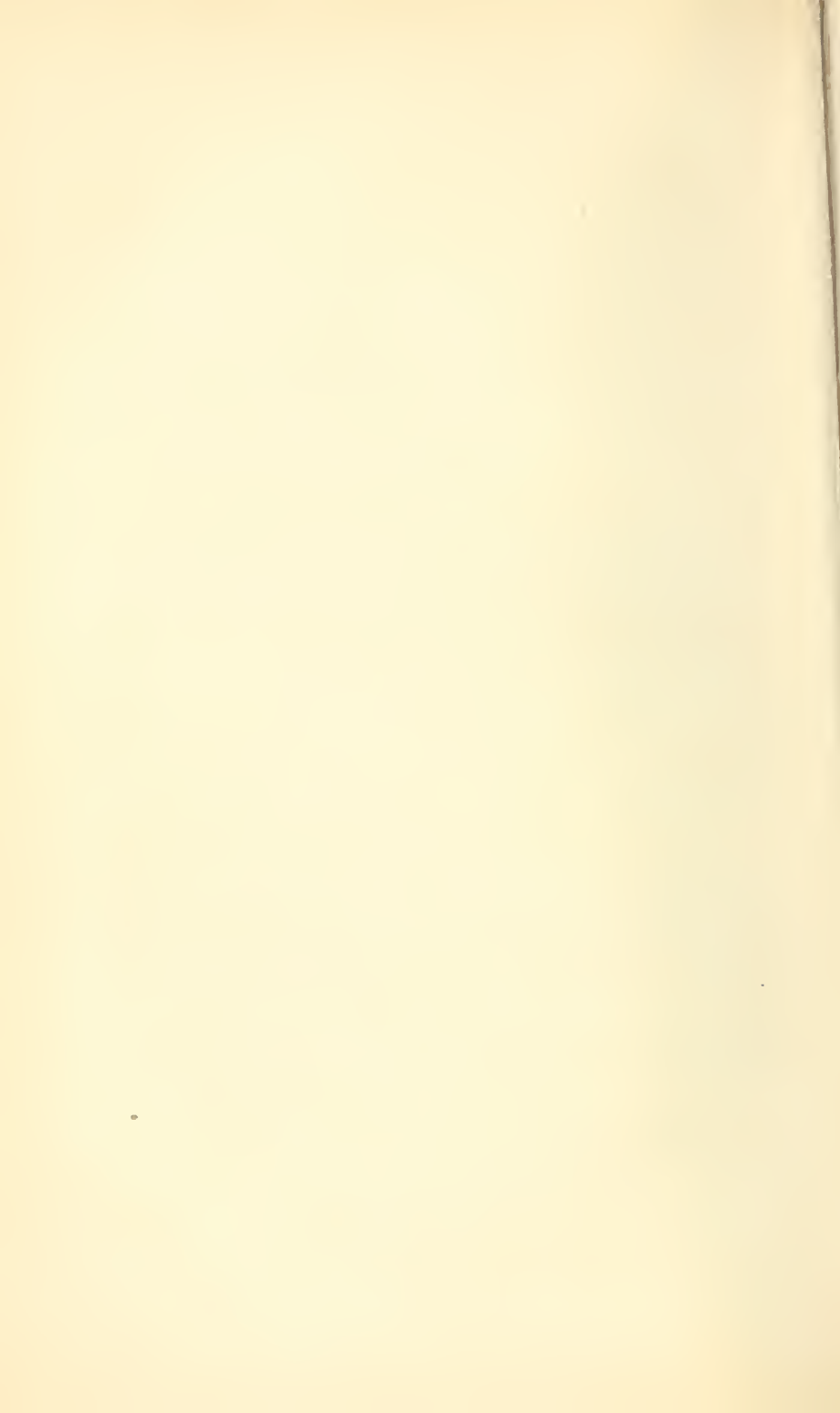
PRINTED BY H. W. MARTIN, BARTLETT'S BUILDINGS, HOLBORN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I SEE from the Newspapers, that a letter has been published, within the last few days, by Dr. Hook, explaining his reasons for subscribing to the fund for supporting the Bishopric at Jerusalem. I have not yet been able to read that letter; but I have no doubt that if it had appeared two or three weeks ago, I should have thought it unnecessary to take any part in the controversy. As it is, I can only hope that nothing which I have said may weaken the impression which the character and arguments of Dr. Hook must produce in favour of any cause which he advocates; especially of one which has been attacked upon the grounds set forth in Mr. Palmer's 'Aids to Reflection.'

Guy's Hospital,

JAN. 22, 1842.



LETTER I.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

SIR,

In the course of the last month two pamphlets have appeared which bear your name. The first is entitled, "A Letter to the Rev. C. P. Golightly, occasioned by his communication to the Standard Newspaper, charging certain Members of the University of Oxford with dishonestly making use of their positions within the pale of the Established Church, in order to propagate Popery." The second is entitled, "Aids to Reflection on the seemingly double character of the Established Church, with reference to the Foundation of a Protestant Bishoprick at Jerusalem."*

Your letter to Mr. Golightly is short : it was evidently written in great haste, and it is mixed up with those personal allusions which have made recent Oxford controversies so disagreeable to those who are not, and I should hope, to those who are, resident in the University. I am, therefore, very reluctant to notice it at all ; nor should I do so, if it were not closely connected with the second pamphlet, which is far more elaborately composed, which contains some important documents, and which treats of a subject of deep, general, and permanent interest.

Your letter was occasioned, it seems, by a mistake which had

* Oxford : J. H. Parker, and J. F. and J. Rivington, London.

been made respecting your opinions on the present circumstances of the English Church. You had been charged with expressing surprise and regret at the approaches which some of your friends were making towards Popery. You say that you are sorry at what you have observed, but by no means astonished; that the change seems to you a most natural one; that so long as the English Church presents the appearance of a Protestant, or half-Protestant body, persons of 'imaginative, impatient, and imperfectly informed minds,' will be disposed to fly from her; that our ecclesiastical rulers seem to wish that she could be connected, even more than she is already, with Protestantism and Protestants; that nevertheless you believe her to be essentially Catholic; that if she be Protestant, she is merely negative, schismatical, and heretical; that if by any direct words or acts she should declare herself to be such, you will leave her. You then pronounce an anathema upon Protestantism and Protestants, and upon all members of the English Church, who shall knowingly and wilfully hold fellowship with either. And you conclude with 'calling upon all zealous and consistent Protestants, i.e. all supporters of the right of heresy (τῶν αἰρεῖν ἢ αἰρεῖσθαι), who may be nevertheless unconscious of any heretical disposition within themselves, to look their own principle boldly in the face, and to carry it out to its full consequences; and then, if they still really believe it to be true to contend earnestly, but as honourable men, and with temper, for what they believe to be the true religion, and so help to bring matters to an issue.'

As these are the principles which you apply in your second pamphlet to the consideration of the recent measure respecting the bishoprick at Jerusalem, I could not, in justice to you, pass over that condensed and emphatic declaration of them which is contained in your letter. I do not, however, I assure you, mean to dwell even for a moment upon the feelings which your language may have excited in persons, who, like myself, are certainly zealous, and wish to be consistent, Protestants. If we are, as you say we are, entirely negative and contradictory in our opinions, if our sole delight is in rejecting, if we are endeavouring to fraternize on the principle of a common

hatred, I believe that we are worthy of the condemnation which you have pronounced upon us; and I should not for my own part stop to inquire, whether you are or are not endued with powers to pronounce it. I have always lamented in others, and in myself, the tendency to deny instead of to assert. I have always considered it *the* disease of human nature, and have acknowledged how many circumstances were likely to call it forth in us, who are Englishmen, who are separate, whether by our own fault or theirs, from other Christian communities, and who are living in a critical and censorious age. These circumstances offer no excuse by which we should seek to palliate the sin in ourselves; but they afford the strongest reason why we should be continually on our guard against it, and why we should be grateful to every person who, courteously or uncourteously, with or without authority, gives us warning of its existence. As a Protestant, therefore, I have every reason to thank you for what you have said; we can, if we will, profit as much by curses as by blessings; and I can honestly say, that I never was so convinced as since I read your letter, that I have a positive ground to stand upon, and that I am bound to maintain it.

I propose in my present letter to explain what I conceive this positive ground to be. I mean then, in a second letter, to apply what I have said to the present condition of the English Church, and to inquire how far it has that equivocal character which you speak of. Then, in a third letter, I will consider how the statements in the two former bear upon the question of the foundation of a Protestant Bishoprick at Jerusalem.

I hope that in this discussion I may be enabled to preserve that good temper which you require of all opponents. At least I promise you, that I will “look my principle in the face, and that I will not shrink from any of its consequences.”

I have said, Sir, that the tone of your letter is not one, which I, as a Protestant, feel any disposition to complain of; that it may teach us very profitable lessons. But when I consider it in reference to those for whose sake it appears mainly to be written, I must speak a very different language. You say that there are persons of your acquaintance who seem likely to leave the Church of England, and to take refuge in Rome. I do not

know who they are, but I doubt not that you have better means of information than I have, and I should have argued from my own observation, that such conversions were to be expected. These persons may, as you say, be men of imaginative, impatient, and imperfectly informed minds. But if I may judge of them by those who have already gone out from among us, I should say they might be men of very affectionate and earnest minds ; men who in a right way or a wrong way desired to seek peace and ensue it. If they are flying from us, I believe it is because they suppose us to be, what you think we are, mere deniers and dividers ; if they are betaking themselves to Rome, it is not for the sake of her curses, but in spite of them.

They say to themselves, "Rome may have been guilty in former days of causing or fomenting divisions, of cursing those whom she might have blessed, of excommunicating where she might have reconciled. But now, all division, separation, bitterness, seem to us to be on the other side. *We* set ourselves up against the general unity of Christendom ; *we* magnify our own individual opinions, instead of showing humility for our ignorance, and submitting to be taught ; we denounce ages past and present ; we look upon men as foes, whom we should wish to embrace as brothers. Rome, on the other hand, appears now as the only remaining witness for a bond of fellowship ; her rulers and ministers are the only outward and apparent signs that we are not meant to be divided from each other by national customs, or laws, or language. She alone lifts up her voice to declare that the opinions, judgments, dogmas, of particular minds are not to tear in pieces those whom Christ has meant to be one."

Now, Sir, I ask you calmly to consider the effect of your words upon men having such feelings as these. They read a pamphlet expressly written to denounce Protestant negations, Protestant self-exaltations, Protestant separations : and what do they find there ? They find a writer who says, 'I am *not* a Protestant, I am *not* a Romanist, I am *not* a disciple of the Via Media ; I separate from all the Romanists in my own country, I separate from all Protestants abroad, I separate from all Protestants in my own country, I separate from those whom I believe to be the great majority of the presbyters and bishops

of my own Church ; I, a deacon of the Church, denounce and renounce them all.' No document, I am sure, has appeared from any quarter, which is so likely to induce the best, the holiest members of that class which is discontented with the English Church to desert it, as this letter of yours. True, it carries with it no authority ; it is merely the utterance of an individual's private judgment ; it commits the Church to nothing. But they will say, ' Here is the specimen of a man trying to be Catholic under impossible conditions ; he would, if he could, be positive, but all he can do is to rave at other people for being negative. This is the result of an Anglican education ; this is the *ἡθoς* which is produced by the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. Surely Protestantism has laid hold of her very vitals, since even those of her members who try to abjure it, exhibit its spirit in the worst and most outrageous form.'

Perhaps you may say, that in these remarks I am doing you injustice ; that implicitly in your first pamphlet, explicitly in your second, you have asserted the importance of a dogmatic teaching, as the foundation of all right opinion and sound feeling ; that you have declared your allegiance to the dogmatic teaching of the first ages and of the symbols in which it is embodied ; that you have therefore a positive ground to stand upon, from which you are able to look down upon all who have departed from it, and on catholic grounds, and with catholic authority, to condemn them. You may say, moreover, that you not only submit to this dogmatic teaching, but that you recognize the institutions of the Church, her sacraments, her liturgies, her ministry. I do not wish to deprive you of any advantage you may obtain from this plea ; I do not wish to hurt your feelings, by telling you that I, who am the subject of your anathema, attach as great importance to the creeds, the sacraments, the episcopacy of the Church, as I think you can do. But the question will be asked by those who are disposed to leave our communion, and it must be answered, ' How is it possible that all this submission to past teaching, this humility and prostration of spirit before ancient Fathers, this anxiety to walk in those ordinances which are the bonds of Christian peace and charity, can consist with a tone of such unusual assumption,

with a kind of language which would have made any ancient Father tremble and have led him to think that the person who used it, must be not only a refractory member of any Church to which he might belong, but that he had those elements, powerfully at work in him, out of which heresy the *sin τῶν αἰρεῖν ἢ αἰρεῖσθαι* has usually developed itself?’

Sir, if you have not considered the solution which they will find for this puzzle, I will tell you what it is. They will say, ‘We were almost convinced before, we are quite convinced now, that dogmas, and institutions, will not really produce the goodly and uniting effects which ought to flow from them, unless there be some PERSONAL CENTRE from which the dogmas shall be derived, by which the institutions shall be upheld, and to which the hearts and minds of all Christians shall naturally turn. Till we are content to acknowledge such a centre, we shall not really assume the posture of humble Christians; we shall still be individual dogmatists while we talk of bowing to the decisions of the Church; we shall be glorifying ourselves for our adherence to institutions, and we shall not be really experiencing the blessings of them, either in our own lives, or in the union which they establish with people of other tribes and nations; we shall have the name of Catholics, without the power which the name imports. It was by getting rid of this centre that Protestantism destroyed the Church. It is by seeking this centre again, that we must restore it.’

Here, Sir, here is the turning point of the whole controversy; men want a Centre—they say unity without a centre of unity is a contradiction and impossibility. It must be a real Centre, not a dogma,—not a set of dogmas, whether conceived by ourselves, or transmitted by others; every institution must express and manifest this Centre; it must transcend all notions and opinions, yet it must have such a connection with the heart of man, as no notions or opinions ever can have. Such men as the author of *Mores Catholici*, and that amiable member of your College, who has recently left us, feel, if I do not very much mistake them, that Protestants in general have lost sight of this centre—a centre for the whole body—and have made each his own individual self a centre. Anglicans, they complain, have

lost sight of that centre; they have made their own national institutions their centre. I fear there is too much ground for both charges. As a Protestant, I confess the first sin; as an Englishman, the second. But I do not think that I shall get rid of these sins by renouncing Protestantism and Anglicanism. I fancy they will cleave to me still, only manifesting themselves in another shape, and joining themselves to other spirits more evil than themselves. But I do know that the wish for a living Personal Centre must be satisfied. If you wish to recall these wanderers to our communion, if you wish to hinder others from following their example, you should be prepared to shew them how it may be satisfied, how they may find a real centre, not for a part of the Church, but for the whole of it, without going to Rome. All other arguments I am sure will be of no avail. You may tell them that you will curse for them all Lutherans and Calvinists, and three fourths of your own countrymen; they will only say that you have convinced them that our English air is full of nothing but grating and dissonant notes, and that all who are in want of true and heavenly music must seek it elsewhere. In the mean time, Sir, I will endeavour to shew that I am a Protestant just because I do acknowledge this Catholic centre, and that the moment I relinquish my Protestantism, that moment I abandon the best hope for the unity of the Church. You charge me as a Protestant with being simply negative; I will therefore express the grounds of this conviction in a confession which I trust will be found at least as positive as anything in your letter to Mr. Go-lightly.

I believe then, that our Lord came into this world to set up His Church or Kingdom in the midst of it; that this kingdom is universal, unfettered by the limits of nation or age, of space, or time. I believe that this universal Church is founded on the union established between manhood and Godhead, in the person of JESUS CHRIST, and upon all those acts of birth, death, burial, descent into hell, resurrection, and ascension, in which His union with our race was realized, and His union with God manifested. I believe that as this union of Godhead and manhood rests, so the Church itself rests ultimately upon the name of the

Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, wherein is expressed that highest, deepest, most perfect unity, which the spirit of men in all ages has been seeking after and longing to find.

I believe that this universal Church is the only true society for men, as men — the only body which declares to us what Humanity is, and what a false, spurious, anomalous thing that *World* is, which is based upon individual selfishness, in which each man is his own centre. I believe that this spiritual and universal body was not made by Christ to depend upon the feelings, or faith of men, because these feelings and faith are nothing, unless they have something to rest on — because it is a monstrous contradiction and absurdity to suppose that they create that without which they would have no existence. I believe that He meant His Church to stand in certain permanent and universal institutions; upon a sacrament by which men should be taken into a real and not fictitious union with Him; upon another sacrament in which they might enjoy real and not fictitious communion with Him; upon creeds in which men should assert and claim their actual relationship to Him; in forms of worship wherein they should realise the highest perfection of their being, and the greatest fellowship with each other in confessing their sins to Him, glorifying His name, and asking His help; in a permanent ministry through which He should declare His will, and dispense His blessings to the whole body, and the main office in which should be that apostolic office which belongs characteristically to the new dispensation, seeing that it expresses the general oversight of Him, who no longer confines Himself to any particular nation, but has ascended up on high, that He might fill all things. Finally, in His written Scripture, wherein the whole progress and development of His kingdom, is in an orderly manner set forth; its nature and constitution explained; the meaning of its ordinances, and their inseparable and eternal connection with Himself, made intelligible.

I believe that of this body, thus constituted, Christ is the everliving present Head and Centre, and that by whatsoever means this truth and principle is set at nought, by that same means each of these institutions is set at nought, its meaning

and power denied, its universality destroyed. I believe that this effect, that is to say, nothing less than the disorganization and decomposition of the whole body of the Church with the loss of all its life, power and energy, must have followed, if any of those heresies of the first ages, by which Christ's Godhead or Humanity, or the unity of both in one person was denied or explained away, or if any of those other heresies, by which the persons of the Godhead were confounded or its substance divided, had prevailed, and that the Church *was* dislocated and deadened just so far as they did prevail. I believe that the great teachers of the elder Church, who maintained the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity against these heresies, though they might speak of them as doctrines or dogmas, and might appeal to the testimony of foregone times in their support, did look upon them as great cardinal realities, as the very grounds upon which human life and human communion rest, and were convinced, that by the events of His providence, and by the course of history, God would demonstrate them to be so. I believe that though in one sense we may speak of these truths as dogmas of Scripture or dogmas of tradition, we do them and the purposes of God and our own minds grievous wrong, if we do not remind ourselves continually, that they are only dogmas of Scripture and tradition, in the same sense as gravitation is the dogma of the Principia of Newton, and that they really are the grounds and laws of the moral and spiritual universe, just as gravitation is the ground and law of the physical universe. I believe that the Fathers lived and died for the support, not of dogmas, not of that which is *decreed*, of that which *seems*, but for the defence of that which really *is*; for this they said that man needed to know, and this, God, after long preparation, and many gradual discoveries, had revealed.

I believe, therefore, that the truth of the Incarnation may be set aside in acts as well as in words; that Christ's Headship of the Church, and the whole constitution of the Church may be invaded by the very persons who in terms are asserting it; that a monstrous practical heresy may be introduced as 'the very excuse for supporting a correct dogmatical Christianity. I believe that the truth of the Incarna-

tion, and therefore the whole constitution of the Church was invaded by an act, that a mighty practical heresy was invented for the sake of upholding that constitution, and of supporting a correct dogmatic Christianity, when the Bishop of Rome declared himself the Vicegerent of Christ and the Head of Christendom. I believe that by this declaration, the truth that a communion had been established between the visible and the invisible world in the person of Christ, and that men had a right to call themselves members of Christ's kingdom, and united in him, was outraged and insulted. I believe that no human assumption or human denial can set aside an eternal truth, and therefore that it did continue to be the fact, that Christ was the present ruler of the Church; that He was ordering its arrangements, directing its ministers, manifesting himself in its sacraments, in spite of that audacious attempt to substitute a visible and dying man in his place. But I believe, also, that this great sin was permitted to cripple every institution of the Church, and to reduce it, so far as it could be reduced, from a living form into a dead formula. I believe that it was necessary, to explain to the understanding of men, how it should be possible for them to be really united to their Lord in Baptism, or to enter into real communion with Him in the Eucharist: and that for this purpose the understanding was tasked to invent barren, logical explanations, which affronted the faculty to which they were addressed, and were invested with all the sacredness and awfulness of the mystery which they degraded and profaned. I believe that the Creed was changed from a form of living allegiance to a living Being, into a collection of dead words, and that the real sense and purpose of it being lost, it was found utterly inadequate for the purposes to which it was supposed to minister, and that therefore another creed, a creed of notions, and opinions, and dogmas was needed as an addition to it, or substitute for it; which came to pass in the days of Pope Pius IV. I believe that the principle of Episcopacy was continually invaded, nay its very essence lost; for whereas every bishop should be able to look directly up to Christ, and know assuredly that from Him, and from no other, he receives his authority, and commission, and power to

endue presbyters, and deacons with those great powers which they also are to hold as witnesses of Christ's Presence in all his different powers and offices in the Church, the bishop who submitted to this papal assumption, felt of necessity that he derived his authority and commission from a visible and local functionary, and so sunk, unless he learned a better wisdom by meditating on the plans of God and the true order of the Church, into a poor secular creature, without any sense of high aims or mighty responsibilities; that, on the other hand, this same papal power was continually exerted to rob the bishops of their jurisdiction, and to set even laymen free from their controul. I believe that, owing to this assumption, forms of worship became mixed with idolatries, because the sense of a direct communion with the invisible God, through the one Mediator, was to the majority of men lost. I believe that, owing to this assumption, the Bible, which is the great living practical book of the Church—the great instrument of human education—the key to the mysteries in the life of men—the help to the student in investigating the literature of nations—was deemed to be a mere collection of theories, and opinions, which must be hidden from the laity, because of theories and opinions they cannot for the most part take cognizance. I believe that, just in proportion as this usurpation prevailed, the East became hopelessly divided from the West, because no Greek ever can believe, or ever was meant to believe, that he is to receive commands from a Latin Bishop. I believe that wherever this assumption was recognized, each nation, with the king whom God has placed over it, felt itself to have an interest diverse from, and contradictory to that of the universal body; and that hence there were of necessity perpetual conflicts, contradictions, tumults, in which each side was right and each side wrong—in which the most precious and holy principles were exhibited in the most miserable contradiction. I believe that, owing to this assumption, it became most difficult for a common man to feel himself a true and living member of Christ's holy body, that the poor were always tempted to look upon the Church as a tremendous power overhanging them, which might crush them, and to which,

therefore, they must do homage; the priest, as a machine possessing certain invisible properties, of which he was moving the springs or wires; cultivated laymen, as a system of tricks to which they submitted one day, and at which they laughed the next.

I believe it to have been the good pleasure of God, that at the Reformation the two last of these evils which result from the headship of a visible ruler over the Church—I mean the evil to the existence of nations, and the evil to the individual soul of man—should be perceived, understood, and protested against. I believe that the distinct personal responsibility of Sovereigns to God, was maintained nobly and courageously at that time. I believe the personal responsibility of each man to God, and his need and right to claim union with Christ, in order that that responsibility might be fulfilled, was nobly and bravely asserted at that time. I believe that the assertion of these two great principles is Protestantism, because the discovery of them necessarily and inevitably led to a protest against the usurpation of the Pope over Christendom. I believe the consequence of these assertions was, for a time, the discovery of a real value in some of the great Church institutions, which had been turned into mere fictions; that the truth and grandeur of Baptism were recognized; that the Creed, or at least that portion of it which refers to the acts of Christ in human flesh, was felt to be a living, and not a dead form; that the Bible recovered its glory as a living book.

I believe, that it was not the purpose of God, at that time to make men conscious of the mischiefs which the Papal usurpation was working in the Church, considered as a universal body. I believe men were not occupied then, and were not meant to be occupied, with the bonds by which they were united to each other, nearly so much as with the question how each man could maintain his own distinct position and life. I believe that, owing to this cause, all those institutions which do not seem to connect themselves with the individual life, but rather with our condition as members of a body, were neglected; that the others received an interpretation which made them merely means and instruments of the individual faith and

life, and therefore were deprived of their truest and highest signification.

I believe, therefore, that the nations of the Continent which became Protestant, became witnesses for the distinctness of nations and the distinctness of persons, but ceased to be witnesses for the existence of a universal body or family. I believe that the nations which remained subject to the Pope of Rome continued to bear a kind of witness for the existence of such a family, but ceased altogether to be witnesses for the moral distinctness of each man, for the moral distinctness of each nation. I believe, however, that each of these witnesses was for its own purpose most weak and unsatisfactory; that the Protestant kings were not able to preserve their true position, nor the Protestant nations to assert their true freedom; that individual life in them became more and more barren, ungenial, material; that, on the other hand, in the Papal nations, the Church of Christ became more and more lost in the Society of Jesus, till its very existence in the 18th Century was turned into a dream and a jest. I believe that by the awful demonstrations of the French Revolution, and by the parody of Christian fraternization, which the actors in it were allowed to present, God has been showing us of this generation, that we are come to a different cycle in the history of the world from that in which the Reformers lived; that our business is not chiefly to inquire, as theirs chiefly was, how each man's individual life is to be upheld, but rather upon what terms and conditions He has constituted society. I believe that if we turn away with cowardly eyes from the investigation of this problem, we never shall be able to investigate the other; that individual life must perish, if we do not discover the true law of social life, and are not ready, be it what it may, to submit to it. I believe that

“ By ways most various,
Or might I say, contrarious,”

by baffled efforts, by light unlooked for, by great judgments, by manifold blessings, by proud thoughts of what the human spirit was meant for, and what it would do, by deep humiliations and abasements, by art and poetry, by the decay

of genius, and the extinction of the idols whom the world was worshipping, by physical science and the feeling of law and certainty which it inspires, by the dissatisfaction which physical studies leave on the minds of those who feel that they are human beings and have human wants, by commercial enterprises, by the degradation which commerce brings after it, by wealth and poverty, by the devices and failures of political men, by historical researches, and the discovery of certain Hercules pillars which they cannot pass, by the great longings and discontent of cultivated men, by the deep groans and bitter misery of poor men, by the sins and oppressions of the world, by the more shameful divisions of the Church, and by the unceasing cry, "*Usque quo Domine?*" from the saints that are beneath the altar, God has been preparing men in different parts of the earth to feel after those deep and eternal truths, which may be overlooked, or only seen in fragments and shadows, while we are busy with the problems of our personal life, but which come out in their fulness and power when we begin to study the bonds of our common humanity. I believe that it is God's will that we should now present these great truths to men, not merely as dogmas derived from the earliest ages, (though we may thank God with all our hearts that they have been so derived to us;) but in that more practical and real form in which they were presented to the men of the first ages themselves as the solution of mysteries, for which there is no other solution; as the answers given by heaven to cries which have been sent up from earth. And I believe that this being the case, the Church as embodied in those permanent institutions which belong to no age or nation, and which have in so wonderful a manner been preserved through so many variations of national customs and periods, may now come forth and present herself, not as a mere utterer of dogmas, which men must not dispute because they are afraid, but as the witness and embodier of those permanent realities, which men of earnest hearts feel that they need, and which they have been made willing by God's spirit in the day of His power to receive, and which when so set forth, will be denied at last only by those who deny their own moral being and responsibility; that she may present herself not as

a body, whose chief function is to banish and anathematise, but as one from which none are excluded but those who exclude themselves, because they prefer division to unity, and the conditions of a party to the freedom of an universe.

I believe, that when any part of the Church is able to assert this position, grounding its own existence simply on the Incarnation of Christ, and putting forth all those institutions and ordinances which it has in common with Christendom, as the declaration of this Incarnation and of Christ's Headship over the Church, that part of it may be blessed by God, to be the restorer of unity to the East and to the West, to the Church in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Greece, in Syria, and in Russia. But I believe, lastly, that in order that any part of the Church may do this, she must be ready to bear a continual unflinching *protest* against the attempt to perpetuate or establish a centre of visible unity in Rome, or in any city of the West, or of the East, because such an attempt has been proved by the awful experience of a thousand years, to be the means of destroying universality and spirituality in the Church, and because the reason why it ever has been so, and ever must be so, becomes manifest to us the more we meditate upon the constitution of a Catholic Church, and upon the great Catholic verities which lie at the base of it.

I am, Sir,

Yonr obedient servant, &c.

F. M.

LETTER II.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

SIR,

I have now stated the reasons which induce me, in spite of your anathema, to retain and to prize the name of Protestant. In what I have said, I have anticipated my answer to your charge against the English Church, that her character is ambiguous, because she calls herself both Catholic and Protestant. I have shewn, I think, that she is not obliged to be half Catholic and half Protestant—not obliged to chalk out a middle way, in the sense which you give to that phrase; but that it is possible for her, or for any other portion of the Church, to be most Catholic when she is most Protestant. Still, I think it important for the comfort of our own consciences, and for the right understanding of our relations to others, that we should examine more carefully what our position is; what acts of ours might be inconsistent with it; what acts might shew our gratitude to God for it.

We shall not disagree about my first proposition. I say that those institutions were preserved to us at the time of the Reformation, which do not belong to us as individuals, or as members of a nation, but as members of a Christendom. Neither shall I be inclined to quarrel with you about the cause to which we should attribute this blessing. I believe the English Reformers to have been in mind and spirit like the foreign Reformers, occupied mainly with questions concerning national

and individual life, very little with considerations respecting the being and order of the Universal Church. Whatever feelings they had upon this last subject had come to them traditionally, or were the accidental accompaniment of other feelings rather than the radical and governing portions of their mind. I do not therefore claim for them more than a passive acquiescence in, and submission to, that Will of God, which directs our ends, even when we are disposed to rough hew them. I do not seek to exalt the English Reformers, by claiming for them a particular wisdom and excellence which were wanting in their contemporaries abroad. I am not ashamed to say that I admire both very sincerely, because I believe that amidst a great many errors and sins, they followed the leading of God's providence, keeping their eyes fixed upon that object upon which in their time, and under their circumstances, it was right and fitting that they should be steadily, almost exclusively, fixed. If I adopted the habit which is fashionable in certain quarters, of disparaging and insulting them, I know what consequences would follow in my own mind; I know that instead of being able the better to reverence the early fathers of the Church, I should lose the sense of reverence altogether; having trampled upon the graves of those who are among us, and whom we have been taught from childhood to honour, I am quite sure that no more large or Catholic feelings would ever grow up within me. I cannot tell how it would be with others, thus I know it would be with myself; and I shall be very sorry when the time comes that I learn to speak of Mahomet and Confucius, as some people delight to speak of Latimer and Luther. I do not find that reverence will come when I do call it, for the service of a particular idol, if I take revenge for the restraints which it has imposed upon me, by giving loose to my contempt and scorn upon all other occasions. On the other hand, while I acknowledge that wisdom was justified of her children at the time of the Reformation; while I acknowledge that they were maintaining the glory of the Invisible King and Mediator, against men who had sought to extinguish that glory under pretence of hiding it from common eyes, I can do homage to those fathers who asserted the same glory against the heresies which set it at

nought in their day. Nevertheless, I repeat it, I do not claim for the Reformers the merit of preserving Catholic institutions among us; it is altogether a wonder that they should have been preserved, and as a wonder I would receive them, and give thanks for them.

But, secondly: These institutions have come down to us clogged with a protest against the Bishop of Rome. That protest was made not less strongly, but more strongly, by our Church, than by those from whom she derived it; more strongly, because it was the effect of no sudden start of individual feeling. The protest against the Romish usurpation over the rights of sovereigns, had been going on for centuries; the only difference was, that this came into coincidence with the individual protest which had hitherto been denounced and kept down, and that as the one was put forth by the sovereign himself, the other was adopted by a great portion of the Bishops and Clergy. And thus it has come to pass, that if we inherit a church, possessing all Catholic institutions, we inherit a church which is subject to this protest—which made it once, and is making it now. Our Bishops declared that they had a spiritual authority independent of the Bishop of Rome. They exercised that authority in condemning the theory of the Eucharist, which he had pronounced to be necessary to it, and necessary to salvation. They renounced the innovations which the Bishop of Rome had sanctioned in the old liturgies; they used their own discretion in arranging the old forms, and even in introducing new forms; they did acts of homage to the king as, over all causes ecclesiastical and civil within his own dominions, supreme. I leave out of consideration the articles which they compiled for the use of the ministers of the church, and for those who should receive a learned education from her. Whatever may be thought about those articles, the other acts which I have mentioned were distinctly protesting acts; acts which brought us as completely under the ban and curse of Rome, as any that were done in Switzerland or Germany. They are acts which could not cease with the time in which they were first performed. We are performing them or other acts which involve them every day now. We are therefore a protesting church. I do not use the words because I wish to urge upon

any person, who disapproves the protest, the duty of leaving her; I believe that it may be, and in nine cases out of ten it is, a very solemn duty for us to remain in the church wherein we are born, though we dislike many of the conditions under which she exists; and I have no sympathy whatever with the language about dishonesty and inconsistency, which certain writers among us so readily and wantonly use. But I wish simply to state facts. We may cease to be Protestants, but at present we are Protestants, and have been so for the last three hundred years. Say, if you please, that the position is a wrong one; but do in plain truth and honesty confess that it is ours. Either do not on the one hand charge us with the sin *τῶν αἰρεῖν ἢ αἰρεῖσθαι*, because we do *not* wish to choose for ourselves, but to maintain the ground which God has given us: or else, do not charge the Romanists in our land with being schismatics; for if our Bishops and Priests took up a false heretical position at the Reformation, these Romanists are the witnesses for the true order of the Church, not worse than their brethren abroad, but far better, because more courageous and self-sacrificing.

A third point must be distinctly taken notice of, though it has been touched upon already. If our church is both Catholic and Protestant, our nation is wholly Protestant. In so far forth as we are a nation, united together under one king, we do by the very law of our existence protest against any power which assumes controul over our kings, and denies their direct responsibility to God. The nation's position is, and always must be, a protesting position. Whether it follows as a matter of course that a nation and a church are incompatible with each other; that one must perish if the other is to live, is of course the very question in debate between us. I believe that the nations were brought into their distinct life by the church—that they cannot retain their distinct life without the church; and that conversely the universal body sinks into a contradiction, when it refuses to recognise the personality of each national body. Be that as it may, the question as to England is one of history, and not of speculation. We are not striving to make ourselves a Protestant nation now: we have been so implicitly at all times; explicitly since the Reformation. We are not entering

into alliances with Protestant powers now. It was the policy of our ablest princes not since the Revolution of 1688, as some would tell us, but very much more evidently before it, to enter into alliances almost exclusively with them. Since that time, considerations respecting the balance of power have been the governing feelings in the minds of our statesmen. All the wars, from the peace of Ryswick down to the middle of the reign of George III., were entered upon mainly from such considerations. On the other hand, it has been a charge often preferred against the liberal governments of late years, that they have departed from the old Elizabethan doctrines, both in their internal and external policy. I have nothing to do with the right or the wrong of these complaints; that they were not made simply by that class which is known by the name of ultra-Protestants, every one must be aware. The principle of the king's direct responsibility to God, which is the Reformation principle, was asserted—in language which seems to me dangerous and profane, but which was at all events a distinct denunciation of the Romish principle—by Sacheverel and by the High Church School of his day, and of subsequent days. In our own times, Sir Robert Peel was deprived of the representation of Oxford, because he was supposed to be violating the principle of Protestantism, considered as a principle of internal government; and, if my memory do not fail me, one of the strongest documents in opposition to him was drawn up and signed by Mr. Keble. With respect to the other branch of the question, so lately as the year 1832 Lord Palmerston and the Cabinet of Lord Grey were denounced, as I remember, in no measured language, by men who were esteemed then, and are esteemed now, the highest Churchmen, in consequence of the alliance which was formed with Belgium and France against Calvinistical Holland. So that the Protestant principle, in connection with our national life, is at all events not one to be anathematized as something strange and novel; we ought to abandon it, perhaps, but those who say so should distinctly confess they are calling upon us to forsake an ancient course, not warning us to beware of a new one.

But you will say, all this may be very true; but we have awakened up of late years to the perception of the importance

of our Catholic institutions, and we will not rest till these have eliminated Protestantism in every form, whether as the condition of our Church, or the characteristic of our nation. Well, this is different ground, but I am quite ready to meet you upon it. I admit that we have awakened up to this perception; and it is very important to observe what the process of awakening has been. I said in my former letter, that we may trace in all directions the feeling after a different end or object from that which was the main end and object of men's minds at the Reformation. This change may be discovered in all the schemes for universal societies which during the last fifty years have been so rife—in all the projects for bringing men together, without reference to tribe or family feeling, to religious opinions or faith—in all the theories and projects which it has been customary to attribute, either in praise or condemnation, to the genius of Liberalism. Now, when this habit of mind found its way into England, it took many forms, adapted to our character and position; but the most practical and prevalent form which it assumed, was that of religious societies, wherein men fraternised, either altogether without respect to their opinions, or on what was called the footing of a common orthodoxy. That which mainly opposed itself to these manifestations was the national character of the English Church; the Dissenters were excluded by the State from some of its privileges and immunities; Episcopacy was recognized in laws and acts of Parliament; separation was regarded as a thing irregular, disorderly, un-English; therefore all attempts to raise it through some religious pretext to the same level with the Established Church, were resented as mischievous, and destructive of national feeling. Then came the discovery—‘No, this is not the reason why such societies are wrong, why Churchmen and Dissenters cannot amalgamate; were it merely this, it might be overreached by the religious arguments which have been produced in its favour. But the reason itself is a religious one; the Church is a body not established by men, but constituted by God; it is embodied and declared to men in certain institutions; these institutions the Dissenters have rejected; they have rejected, therefore, the bonds of Catholic unity, and we cannot create a new Catholic unity in order to meet them.’

Such, I say, was the language which, a few years ago, began to supersede the state or national language in the minds of a great many Churchmen. I do not say that it was new language in England; those who used it were able to produce abundant precedents, nay, to show that there had been a stream of precedents in the English Church in favour of it. But in one sense it was new language, more new than either those who advanced it, or those who rejected it, were aware. The English writers, to whom they appealed as their forerunners and authorities, were in the strictest sense English; though they might hereafter expect a union with other parts of Christendom, their main purpose and interest was to assert the peculiarities of the Anglican Church. By whatever names, therefore, they might be called, they were vehemently Anti-Romanist, as well as vehemently Anti-Lutheran. But those who adopted them as their guides, had been led into quite a different state of feeling from this; they were carried on, though they knew it not, by that great Catholic movement which all parts of Europe have experienced; their ground of admiration for those institutions, which were preserved in the English Church, was not that they were English, or even ancient, but that they were Universal. I say they were not conscious of this fact themselves, and therefore they said with great simplicity, that they wished to be Anglicans, and nothing else. But it was quite impossible, in the nature of things, that they should continue to feel thus. It was quite impossible that the more earnest and the better part of them could look upon those elements in our life, which are especially to connect us with all people, merely as barriers to banish and exclude. Supposing these institutions did exclude the Dissenters of England, yet that could not be the meaning of their existence. They have not been preserved for eighteen centuries by such a wonderful Providence, only that we might be able to say to men of pious dispositions, ‘You have no part or lot with us;’ if that be their effect, it must be an accidental effect; they must have been established and created for just the opposite reason. Men of kindly and Christian tempers began to perceive indications in the writings of the Dissenters, that they wanted institutions such as these, and were endea-

vouring to invent them for themselves. They began to open their eyes to the fact previously hidden from them, that people elsewhere were craving after Catholic union as well as themselves; that, in fact, it is the desire which God is bringing out in men of this age, and which only makes itself more evident, from the efforts of the evil spirit, to draw them into greater conflicts and a more selfish position. Seeing this, they became impatient of their Anglicanism. They began to say, It is a very narrow, close, selfish thing after all; possibly it was a step to something better; but now that we have found the better thing, we may throw aside the step; the great point is, how we may enter into fellowship with the Church at large, the Church Catholic. Hence have grown up those desires for union, if it can be obtained, with the nations which are still subject to the Papal Hierarchy—hence, that inclination to pass over or extenuate all the faults of which that Hierarchy has been guilty—hence, that craving after a visible centre of unity, by which honest persons, who, as they express it, “had gone a certain way with the Oxford School,” have been startled and scandalized, and which have given its bitterer opponents an excuse for saying, that its members concealed their opinions under a specious national form, till the time was come for fully disclosing them.

On the contrary, those who from the first discovered in these writers a far too narrow, pinched, and exclusive spirit (needful perhaps in men who were particularly called to witness for a faith delivered once for all, and not to be created by men’s fancies, or to be various as they are various) but still which harmonized very ill with the character of the truths which they were contending for—those who felt that they were far too much disposed to reduce the *forms* which connect us with God and with our brethren into logical *formulas* (a fault very natural in men whose discipline had been exclusively Aristotelian, but most dangerous in the witnesses for Sacraments, which, by their very nature transcend the dry and imperfect language of human conceptions)—such persons are able to look at the change which has taken place in the tone of this school, with far less wonder and far more charity. The kind of Anglicanism which it professed involved a Catholicism which would certainly

destroy the shrine which contained it, or be destroyed by it. Their view of the Church, partly as divine, heavenly, sacramental, partly as contained in the opinions and theories and notions of human writers, must either expand or shrivel, either point the way to that New Jerusalem which is free, and above, and the mother of us all, or sink into an earth-born system, needing a visible head and a universal dogmatist to give it any vitality or stability. At present it seems to me, that the two opposite principles of this school are wrestling in a death embrace: in the humble and true the good principle, whatever struggles it may have to pass through, must be at last victorious; those, who resort to the phrases either of Anglicanism or Catholicism, as opportunities for indulging that restlessness and bitterness and scorn, which they are so ready to attribute to all others, will assuredly exhibit the evils which are, as I think, latent in their scheme, though they have been as yet partially neutralized by its better elements.

But in the mean time we may derive, I conceive, great instruction from the lessons which the history of this school affords us. It began with asserting that we have a peculiar English position to maintain, different either from that of the Romanists or of the Continental Protestants: is not the assertion plainly and obviously true? It has discovered at last that we cannot make the possession of certain universal blessings a mere national boast, that they ought to be our bonds with other nations: is not this assertion true also? They are rapidly throwing aside all Anglican and national feeling. Do not our hearts and consciences tell us that they are thereby sustaining a grievous loss, that they are destroying links of affection which subsist between them and other generations, that they are cultivating tastes and preferences of their own—a sentimental attachment to foregone ages—and are parting with the actual human sympathies which might make the others not fantastic but real? Have we not then a clear indication of the truth, that the things which they would separate are really one, that the national bond and the Church bond are not incompatible, though they cannot be the same, that we may bring the two parts of our lives into reconciliation, that the one may be the helper and not the hinderer of the other?

Supposing this were so, it might still be very difficult for us to chalk out a path for ourselves; but we must believe that what we cannot effect, God's providence will, and that, by watching that providence, we may be able to guide our steps aright. Our object is clear; we are to aim at entering into communion with all Christian people, so far as we can do so without sacrificing any of those principles upon which communion itself rests. We are to desire that we may profit by all the advantages of our ecclesiastical and national position for the purpose of obtaining this communion. We are to count it a sin to sacrifice either our ecclesiastical or our national position, for the sake of obtaining it. With these thoughts for our guidance, let us consider two or three possible cases, upon which we might be called to deliberate.

First, let us imagine a proposition coming to us from the Bishop of Rome himself. He expresses himself willing, upon certain terms, to negotiate with us. He will overlook many sins that we committed three centuries ago, and many that we have committed since; he will pardon all the hard words that we have used about him and his predecessors; he will not require any direct acknowledgment of his temporal authority; he will not bind us to any set terms in which we shall confess his supremacy—let it be called merely a Primacy, if we like that word; only let us proclaim ourselves a part of that great Western Church, of which he is *de facto* the head; only let us submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent, so far as to renounce and repudiate all connexion with those who set light by Sacraments, and the unity of the Church; let the precise terms in which we express the mystery of the Eucharist be left to future consideration; at present the Father of Christendom only desires to heal the breaches of the Church, and to restore the broken limbs of it into the unity of the body. Can we conceive better or more reasonable terms offered than these? Is it likely that any so reasonable will ever be proposed? But let us suppose that the effort at reconciliation goes ten times further; that nothing, actually nothing, is proposed to us, but simply to allow such a supremacy in the Bishop of Rome as he had before the time of Hildebrand, or, if you will, in the time of Gregory the Great. Supposing this, and then I say, that to enter into

such a compact as this, would be a shameless and godless desertion of the position which has been given us, that it would be more sinful and more mischievous to enter into such a compact now than in any former age; because, by so doing, we should more directly, wilfully, and consciously compromise a principle. Our fathers did not know what was involved in the recognition of a visible headship. Hildebrand did not know it; though he must have allowed some falsehood to steal into his mind, before he could have ventured upon his sinful assumption; yet it was a falsehood mixed with a great truth. He wished to assert the supremacy and universality of the Church, against the state rulers, who were trampling it down. The dream of such a power vested in the successors of St. Peter, rose up before his imagination, clothed itself with the precedents of past history, looked most beautiful beside the mailed forms of military tyrants, till it grew into a reality which he did not impose upon other men's minds till it had first taken the fullest possession of his own. Of one so tempted, and who showed so little of personal selfishness as Hildebrand did, let no one dare to judge harshly. But let us judge most harshly of ourselves, if, with the book of God's dealings lying open before us to make it manifest that this imagination of a man has obscured and contradicted the great idea of God in the institution of his Church, we venture, through any restless notion that we can hasten on the purposes of the Almighty, or establish a unity in a way in which he has not established it, to bring upon ourselves a bondage which neither this age nor any past age has been able to bear.

But suppose again, that the Bishops of some Church which is now in subjection to the Bishop of Rome, should say to us, 'We do not hold you excommunicated, because you assert the dignity of your Bishops, and their direct subjection to Christ; we believe that you have the Sacraments, the Creeds, the Episcopacy, all those institutions which are the bonds of a common life, and are not merely connected with particular congregations or particular nations: we can and we will meet you upon the basis of these institutions. We will not ask you to tell us what your theory of the Sacraments is, neither will we tell you what ours is; we will receive them together as witnesses

and bonds of Christ's continual presence with us. We will not ask you to receive any of the customs or rules which belong to us as members of a national church, neither will we receive any of the customs or rules which belong to you as a national church: we meet merely on the ground of our allegiance to the universal Head, realized through those institutions which He has bequeathed.' I say, were such a proposition as this made to us by any of the Western Churches, should we have a right to canvass and inquire minutely before we received them as brethren, whether their language upon the topics which are in dispute between us and the Romanists, appeared to accord more nearly with that of the Thirty-nine Articles, or with that of the Council of Trent? I think, certainly not; I think, that having agreed upon the one great point of uniting in an invisible Head, and not in a visible, we may leave the rest to God. Having that great ground of fellowship, we are bound to follow the apostolic rule, and to entertain the apostolic faith, "Whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing, and if in any thing we or they be otherwise minded, God will reveal this unto us." We will not and cannot abandon any distinction that we have perceived; we will not and cannot desert any form of sound words which has been given to us. But the more clear and free our own minds are, the more they have benefitted by the instruction with which we have been blessed, the more may they be able to see a true and sacred meaning working under a different, and what seems to us, a more confused mode of expression. This is not an unsafe doctrine, it is the most safe of all doctrines. There is nothing so unsafe, as the habit of tying ourselves hopelessly and helplessly to certain shibboleths of expression; nothing so likely to deprive us of the very meaning which those shibboleths indicate. And it is a very weighty consideration, that men, if they be honest, cannot throw aside old forms of thought and expression; they are intertwined with the dearest and holiest mysteries to which their hearts pay homage: if they are unnaturally and unnecessarily connected, still it is a cruel and a wicked thing rudely to divorce them. Under pretence of removing a falsehood, you are almost sure to destroy a truth. It is therefore more than a kindly act, it is a

solemn duty, to bear with things which seem to us dangerous in language, and even in practice, provided we do not ourselves conform to them. We are least likely to conform to them, our children are least likely to conform to them, when they do not come forth associated with the sound faith and feelings of persons whom we repudiate. Those persons are most likely to be cured of them, when they feel that they can have a Christian communion upon another basis than that of the visible headship, by which every error has been ratified and sanctified.

So far in reference to the Western Church ; I will now turn to the Eastern. The case here would be far simpler, nay, there would be no case at all corresponding to the one of the proposed alliance with the Roman Bishop, but for circumstances which are accidental, and not essential to the constitution of the Greek Church. But unfortunately accidental circumstances may have the greatest effect in practically preventing unity, even when there is a basis of agreement, and even when there is a really favourable inclination on both sides. Such a hinderance is especially found in the relations between the Muscovite government and the Greek Church. Assuredly it would be most wicked to visit the sins of that government upon the body which it oppresses with the name of protection, wicked even to judge harshly and angrily of men, who, when menaced by Romish intrigues, fly to that protection as to a blessing. But still the fact cannot be concealed, that while the tyranny of an universal pontiff is far more dangerous in principle, the tyranny of an universal emperor is far more degrading and brutalizing. Now, Sir, supposing propositions for union and fellowship should come to us, not from the Bishops of Greece, or the Bishops of Syria, or even from the Bishops of Russia except as blind and passive agents, but from the imperial Government, it is perfectly certain what kind of propositions those would be. The Russian Autocrat, having no perception of the distinct rights of nations, hating every principle which involves the acknowledgment of them, hating the Pope, not as an invader of the honours of Christ, but simply as a dangerous rival to his power, as one who seems to hold together the elements of Latin life in the Southern nations, and so to be in some sense a barrier against a

Slavonic irruption, would call upon us to unite with him in cursing Protestants, to unite with him in denouncing the Bishop of Rome, and upon these terms would be quite ready to permit Greek Christians to hug and embrace the Christians of the far West. Now, such shameful and hateful propositions as these, exhibiting such utter ignorance, not of one, but of both the elements which exist in our English life, exhibiting the most entire alienation of spirit from everything Catholic, as well as from everything Protestant, we should be bound, by every covenant which binds us to God, by every oath of allegiance we make to our sovereign, indignantly to reject. They would be a mockery of the very name of Unity; and the person who urged us to accept them, should be treated as one that calls upon a besieged city to surrender to an enemy, who would sack it, the moment after he had accepted its capitulation.

But supposing the Bishops of Syria, or of Greece, or of any other part of the world in which they could speak, though in muffled accents, the language of freemen, were to declare that they had, through many a long year and trying struggle, asserted the headship of Christ over His Church, and that God had been pleased to preserve to them forms and institutions, which were links of connection with the days of Chrysostom and Athanasius; suppose them to tell us that they had heard of a nation in the West, which acknowledges this same invisible headship, and honours these same institutions, and that they wish to own us and hail us as brethren, upon no other grounds than these—are we to reject such kindly offers, because those, who for ages have been ground down by Mahomedan oppressors, and tormented by Romish seducers, do not exhibit all the fruits of wisdom and of love, which we should wish to see in them and in ourselves? Surely we have too many grounds for deep penitence and humiliation for our own manifold transgressions under conditions so much more fortunate, to demand anything of them, which God by His heavy judgments and trials has not demanded already. Assuredly we wish to see them purged of all superstitions and idolatries. Is there no means by which we can help to purify them, without either participating in their evil, or casting off those whom Christ has

not cast off? The only question, therefore, which I should make in this case is, not whether we ought to accept such overtures if they were made to us, but whether we ought not to originate the overtures, to be ourselves the heralds of peace.

I come, lastly, to our relations with the Protestant bodies of the Continent. That a relation of some kind does exist between us and these bodies, and that the common feeling of Englishmen pronounces it to be very close and intimate, we have seen already. And if that common feeling were to utter itself, it would say, that the relation between us, is emphatically a religious one, while those relations with the Romanists and Greeks, of which I have just spoken, are merely formal relations. On the contrary, ecclesiastics and canonists generally, would say, that there is actually no *religious* bond between us and the foreign Protestants, for they have put themselves out of the pale of the Church. These opinions are to all appearance, hopelessly contradictory: no wonder that those who hold either of them, should use language of some vehemence in denouncing their opponents. Yet there is something of diffidence in the way in which each opinion is expressed. Those who are most inclined in principle to press for a union with foreign Protestants, are yet very apt to dwell upon certain peculiarities in their history and opinions, which may make a closer alliance dangerous. Those who feel themselves most compelled by the rules and maxims which they acknowledge respecting the constitution of the Church to declare that the Calvinists and Lutherans form no part of it, do yet almost universally (you, Sir, are the only exception with which I am acquainted,) interpose such qualifications as these, 'Not that we are judges,' 'God only knows;' 'They may be Churchmen, though we cannot see how.' This hesitation, on both sides, ought at least to make us pause, and ask ourselves whether there may not be some principle in the popular doctrine, which the ecclesiastics cannot afford to despise, and some meaning in the ecclesiastical doctrine, which cannot be got rid of by talking of our charity, and by calling all persons Bigots and Papists who disagree with us.

In the first place, it seems to me clear, that in this case, as in most others, the reasons which are given for the ordinarily

received notion, are very inadequate to sustain it. We are told that we can unite with Protestants, because we have a common enemy. It may be so ; but unless that enemy is aiming at some common possession of ours, this is but a poor and negative basis for religious fellowship ; one which we ought in every case to discard as unworthy. Then, secondly, it may be said, that our common possession is a certain great truth respecting man's personal justification. Now is it meant, that the *truth* of a man's being justified by faith, or the *opinion* that men generally are so, is the ground of fellowship ? If the former, the proposition is self-contradictory ; for the justification of each man is by the hypothesis, a single personal act ; and though it may be argued, that a community of such justified men forms a Church, yet that notion, whatever form it assumes, does not apply to the question now before us. If the latter be meant, it seems to be most inconsistent with the idea of Christ's Church, and no less inconsistent with the idea of justification, that Opinion should be the bond of union in it. At all events, Calvin and Luther thought so. They affirmed that Christ is a real King, and that the members of His Church are, on some ground or other, really related to Him. A mere notion or theory about Him and His kingdom, seemed to them the most different thing possible from an actual creed or belief in it. And these two principles, that there is no union merely in opposition to a third party, or merely in the confession of a certain principle relating to individuals, are, it seems to me, the great results and moral of the history of Protestantism—strikingly confirmed by those diversities of opinion which make the most vehement English Protestants oftentimes the most inclined to stand aloof from those of Germany and Switzerland.

But then does there not come out of these very considerations a clear proof that the common English feeling is right, though it cannot prove itself right ? that we have a real meeting point with the Protestants, though both they and we may have blundered in our perception of what it is ? Why is the Pope our common enemy, but because he assails the idea of Christ being directly related to his Church ? What was the doctrine of justification by faith, but the attempt to assert this truth in

reference to each member of the Church? Here then, I say, is a common ground, the acknowledgment of Christ, not as the Head of individual men, but of the universal Society — the acknowledgment that He is the centre of unity, and that men are either united in this centre, or not at all.

Now if we turn to the ecclesiastical or canonical view, we shall see, I think, both how much justification there is for it, and wherein it fails. It affirms that the Church is constituted in a certain manner, that we are not merely a set of individuals clubbing together our different acts of faith and feeling, nor a set of men united in the profession of certain opinions, but that we are really and truly an organic body, constituted in Christ, and connected with him by certain ordinances, which derive their life from him. Does not this principle, when it is thus set forth, commend itself to the heart and conscience of numbers of those who most exult in the names of Protestants and Bible Christians? Do not they feel that it more nearly answers to the idea of a Church which is haunting them at all times, and which is developed in the Scriptures, than the one which, in terms at least, they have been used to defend?

But why then do Bible Christians pronounce the ecclesiastics to be mere formalists? Such denunciations would be monstrously unjust, if the ecclesiastics were consistent with themselves; if they habitually asserted that the body of the Church cannot be understood without reference to its Head; that the constitution is nothing except as manifesting and presenting Him. And such denunciations would be felt to be unjust, if in strict conformity with this principle they were content to admit, that it is a violation, not of some individual principle, not of some doctrine concerning personal salvation, but of the order and constitution of the Church, when any visible man is made the centre of it—if, consequently, they admitted that those who *retain the distinct acknowledgment of Christ's Headship, rejecting some of those great Catholic ordinances which are needful for the manifestation of it, are at all events not attacking the Order, Permanence, Unity, of the Church Catholic, more than those who, retaining the ordinances, have practically denied the Lord of them, and so have robbed them of their significancy.*

If Christ's Church be a Kingdom it must be very wrong to dispense with the institutions which embody it. But it must be more wrong to deny the King himself. The one I think has been done by Protestants, the other by Romanists. If it be lawful in such a matter to use earthly analogies, the case of the one is that of the counsellors of Charles, in the years between 1629 and 1640, who wished to look upon him apart from his Parliaments and from all the ancient institutions of the country, and merely to tender him the tribute of their personal affection and homage; the act of the other is that of the Lords and Commons, between 1612 and 1648, trying to constitute themselves a power independent of him, nay, even carrying on war against him, though they avowedly performed all their acts in his name.

Now this statement, I do not put forth, as the former part of this letter will prove, for the purpose of making out a worse case against Romanists, but for the purpose of proving, that if we have, as I have tried to shew that we have, points of Church sympathy with them, so we have a grand point of Church, contradistinguished from individual and national, sympathy with the Protestants of the Continent. If we have no right, as I think we have no right, to say we will not commence a fellowship with the different branches of the Western Church, provided they will relinquish their gross anti-Church, anti-Catholic heresy, merely because we fancy that the falling into that heresy was an act of apostacy; so we have no right to say that we will not make the ground of sympathy which we have with the Protestants, the commencement of a fellowship with them, provided they do not continue to reject the institutions which make communion between different nations possible, merely because we presume that they have, by rejecting those institutions, put themselves out of the Church. In either case, if we pronounce such judgments, we are going beyond our commission, nay, we are breaking an actual law. We may make out by implication and construction, that such an act is an act of apostacy, and it may have that appearance, and may even produce the effects which such an act would produce, and to us it may be so really; and apostacy may finally take just such a form. But God has not given us any warrant to say, this man, or this Church, has

committed such an act: that judgement He has reserved to Himself. He has forbidden us under awful penalties to meddle with it. We may make out in like manner, by implication and construction, that this or that man, or this or that body, has cut all the links which bind him, or it, to God's Church upon earth. And it may be that many of these links have been cut, and that there is a danger of all being cut, and that if we imitated such an example, we should destroy our spiritual life altogether. But Sampson, blinded and mocked, may still have locks wherein lies the mighty and invisible strength, that shall hereafter be developed; and we are Philistines and not Israelites if we join in the mockery, and deny its existence. We are tempting God, not more by our profane assumption of His rights, than by our proud scorn of those for whom He cares, and over whom He is watching for good, and not for evil, to visit our heavier sins upon us, and to desert us far more utterly than He has ever deserted them.

Having shown, then, that we have a point of Church fellowship with Continental Protestants, I will now endeavour to show, how I think we may not, and how I think we may, make use of that advantage. Supposing it were proposed to us by a body of Lutheran or Calvinistic ministers, that because we are Protestants, because we object to the Church of Rome, because we hold those doctrines respecting personal justification, which the Reformers held, we should, therefore, recognise their congregations as organised and rightly constituted bodies, and should as such enter into fellowship with them. It seems to me, that according to the principles which I have laid down, we are bound to reject such an invitation. I should express the rejection in some such terms as these; "That which is the bond of fellowship with the Christians of other nations, must be something which is not national, not individual, but universal. If we make individual life the foundation of union, we set that up in place of Christ, we substitute our own Election for the Righteousness and Holiness of Christ. We cannot unite as Christians upon a national principle, though it may be a great duty, as Christians, to uphold national life—for it is in its nature exclusive. Now Bishops being as we believe the witnesses and representatives of Christ's universal kingdom,

are the very instruments of our communion with other nations. If there be no such institution—no apostleship—in the Church now, then the Church has lost its universal character ; then the idea of the Church as existing for all space, and all time, perishes ; then the commission, ‘ Go ye into all nations,’ has no persons to whom it is directed. We cannot then recognize a Church without Bishops. We cannot do it for our own sakes, because we believe that we have a solemn trust and responsibility to uphold this great universal institution of Episcopacy ; because we believe that it has been preserved to us in a wonderful manner for the last three centuries, when there was scarcely anything in our minds to make its meaning intelligible ; because we believe that all the circumstances of this age are declaring to us its meaning and necessity. And we cannot do it for your sakes. We will not use the name of charity, when we have rejected the thing. Now it is not charity to tell you, that you have not lost the sense of being members of a Catholic body, for your wisest men know that you have. It is not charity to tell you, that you have any means of resisting the appearance of a Catholic Church which there is among the Romanists ; for the practical power of Romanism in Germany, and in every country of the Continent, together with the desertions of your own poets and artists to it, prove that you have not. It is not charity to hide the fact, that you have been unable to preserve the Church from the dominion of the state ; for every act you do, almost every word you utter, confesses it. It is not charity to forget, that a Pantheistic Church on one side, or a Romanist on the other, must not be the alternative, if you cannot find some other means of supporting Catholicity than either ; for every thoughtful person in Europe, be his feelings or opinions what they may, perceives that this must be the issue. It is, therefore, not charity to tell you that you can dispense with an institution, which, if received livingly and practically, in the way we believe that you have been prepared by God’s discipline and grace to receive it, as the witness of Christ’s presence, and not as the substitute for it, might, we believe, be the remedy for all these evils.”

But now, suppose (I may be putting a much more improbable case than any which has yet come under our notice, but bear

with my extravagance) that a King of one of these Protestant nations, with which we ought according to the maxims of policy admitted for so many hundred years, sanctioned by so many Church authorities, repudiated only by certain very ultra-liberal statesmen and by you, to be on terms of friendship; suppose, I say, one of these Kings should be convinced by any arguments, it signifies not whether they be state arguments or religious arguments, that it would be a good thing to unite with us in a great religious work; supposing, after considering all the difficulties of the case, he should have seen the utter impracticability of carrying it out in conjunction with us, unless he did homage to that institution of Episcopacy, in the acknowledgment of which our nation differs from his; supposing that he should therefore ask us to unite with him in conducting this work by means of a Bishop; suppose he should submit the whole ordination of this Bishop to the direction of our Church, requiring only that we should perform it according to our own Catholic principle; supposing anything so utterly strange and unlooked-for as this should come to pass, what, I ask you, would be the duty of our own English Episcopacy? You must allow me to put the case as I choose. I imagine then that the measure is not of their seeking, that they have acted on the principle—Our strength is to sit still—that they are merely asked whether they will assist this design, or repudiate it, what ought they to do? I should say, Sir, the question would be determined by this consideration, Whether they prized Episcopacy, or whether they did not prize it; whether they looked upon it as the great blessing of our Church that they possessed it, and the great calamity of the Protestants abroad that they wanted it; or whether they looked upon the institution as a thing perfectly indifferent in the designs of God, and to the good of man. For they must say to themselves, “Here is the most satisfactory recognition of Episcopacy as a permanent institution, and yet as one especially adapted to this day which we could have received from any quarter; here is the clearest evidence that God Himself is leading men to feel that it is not a dry, formal thing, but a real practical thing. Here is a noble confession on the part of the head of a state, that even for political

purposes a state is not sufficient—that there must be a Church. Here is a means whereby we can testify of that Catholic position which we Englishmen occupy, in our dealings with Protestants. Here is a practical lesson to Protestants of the steps which they must take, in order that they may have a real communion with us, and in order that we and they may bear that witness which as Protestants we are meant to bear against a visible centre, and for Christ as the Head of His Church. As, therefore, it would, I conceive, be a sin to accept those other invitations to union of which I have spoken, so it would, on precisely the same principle, and for the same reasons, be a sin to reject this. But what, if this Protestant King, or any of his Protestant subjects, after performing this act, should continue to use language which seems to import that the religious bodies of his country may preserve their existence, without that institution to which in this way he has been doing homage; nay, what if he should interpret this very act into a *quasi* recognition of them under their old character? Why, Sir, I should apply precisely the same principles in this case, which I applied in both the others. I did not require the Romanist formally to abjure the doctrines in which he has been trained from his infancy; I required him only to assert the Headship of Christ, and to unite with us upon the footing of those universal institutions which we have in common. If he asked us to do any act inconsistent with our position and professions, that would be a different matter; but I have said already, and I say it again, I honour him the more for not throwing off his old language, for not adopting ours; I should suspect him if he did otherwise. The application to this case is most obvious. Shall I require the German, or the Helvetian, or the Dutchman to say, I have had no Church, not even the dream of one, I come to ask one from you? God forbid. If he can say such words, he does himself a deep moral injury; he is in almost certain peril of making his own assertion true, not only now, but always. No, if we would make him a Churchman in deed and in truth, if we would bind him to the Church Catholic, and induce him to relinquish whatever prejudices have kept him apart from it; let us allow him to lay fast hold of every portion of truth which he possesses,

of every institution which belongs to him; let us rejoice to hear him call what seems to us but the fragment of a Church, by that great and glorious name; let us rejoice to see him passionate, even furious, when we appear to quarrel with the title. All hail to such feelings! they are the proofs that he loves the idea of a Church, that he will not be content till he has fully realized it. Am I to require, again, that he should abjure his fathers, that he should talk of their acts as sins, instead of giving God thanks for them as his benefactors? Again I say, God forbid! If he do this, he will never become a Churchman; his fault has been too great indifference to the memories and traditions of other days, too much disposition to exalt his own. If you take away this deep feeling of affection for the past, he never will have any other; you have taken away the seed out of which any such fruits might have developed themselves. Or, lastly, would I have him abandon the national feeling which he possesses, and not stickle for all honour to be paid to his nation, and not refuse to receive any dictation from ours? Surely, this would be as bad a wish as either of the others. His national feeling is his strength; it is the point upon which we can sympathize with him; it is that to which, for our own sakes as well as his, we are bound to do homage. For if we do not, it is as much as saying, that this institution which we say he wants, and we wish him to adopt, is a National Institution: it is as much as saying, that we want him to be an Anglican, which he cannot be, and not a Catholic, which he can be. I say, therefore, that if such a contingency as this should ever arrive, we are bound to avail ourselves of it; and that, so far from being hindered by doing so, by discovering that those with whom it brings us into contact have strong and deep feelings, with which they are not ready to part, this should be our greatest encouragement to hope that a harvest of blessings is yet in store for them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant, &c.,

F. M.

LETTER III.

THE BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

SIR,

The document which introduces your second pamphlet, announces that the dream with which I concluded my last letter, has been realized. Such a proposition as I imagined, has actually come from a Protestant Sovereign. It is the object of your "Aids to Reflection" to show that the Heads of the English Church, by listening to it, have incurred the guilt of schism. I mean to consider the arguments by which you support this opinion seriatim. But there are some points in the proposal for founding a Bishopric at Jerusalem, which bear directly upon our own ecclesiastical circumstances; and of these I wish to take notice before I enter upon the question, How far it brings us into a true or a false position in reference to continental Protestants.

You have been used, I doubt not, (it is the common fashion at Oxford) to divide English Churchmen into two classes. One class, you would say, considers all Church order and institutions as subordinate and accidental to individual faith and holiness; the other looks upon individual faith and holiness as the fruits of allegiance to, and fellowship with, the Church. But any one, who has had an opportunity of observing the actual feelings of men in what is called the religious world, will soon perceive that it is not at all accurately bisected by the line which I have just drawn. One element has been left entirely out of the calcula-

tion ; I mean the feelings with which a considerable portion of those who are confounded by their opponents under the common name of the "Evangelical Party," regard the history, the present state, and the future prospects of the Jews.

I do not mean to enter into nice explanations of these feelings. That they are very apt to be mixed with notions which seem to me carnal and sensual, I readily acknowledge. That the study of the history of the peculiar nation may blind men's eyes to the glory of the Universal Church, I can well believe. But nevertheless, it is true, not only that these feelings are in a number of earnest English minds the most deep and central that they have, those out of which all their other thoughts grow, and to which they are referred ; but it is true also, that they are in their very nature incompatible with that individualizing tendency which is imputed, and justly imputed, to the Evangelical school generally. The idea of a body preserved from generation to generation, not from the worth of the individual members of it, but because it is a body in covenant with God ; of a body preserved by institutions ; of a body whose members are to be spoken of, if holy and true, as men who lay hold on the hope of Israel, if false and apostate, as men who voluntarily renounce it, and choose a separate position of their own—this idea, which is necessarily the primary one in the minds of those who study Jewish prophecy, and watch with earnest affection the present condition of the Jewish nation, is one which is the direct anti-thesis of that which reduces the Church into its first elements, and bids every man first seek salvation for himself, *then* attach himself to some sect or society of persons who are engaged in the same search, or think they have found what they are seeking. Accordingly, long before any "Tracts for the Times" appeared in Oxford, persons who were strongly possessed by this Jewish spirit, had been protesting in language of no ordinary vehemence and power against the prevailing temper of those with whom they were associated, saying that it would inevitably issue in the loss of that faith and spirituality which it seemed to make all in all, and that it was directly contrary to the letter and sense of the Bible, which it proclaimed to be the only religion of Protestants.

These things, Sir, may seem to you unimportant ; but those, who are actually in the business and bustle of the world, are driven to take notice of distinctions, which school formulas pass over ; and the distinction, to which I have now alluded, is one which has forced itself upon me continually. I find indeed much that I cannot sympathise with in these literal interpreters of history and prophecy, and much that I can sympathise with in those who are called spiritualists ; the two together seem to me to constitute the elements of a Church and Catholic feeling ; and that principle, whatever it be, which brings them into reconciliation and fellowship, must be different from either, and must very much change the character which each has where it exists separately and exclusively. But of this I am sure, that if our Catholicism takes no account of some of the most strong and radical and earnest thoughts which the men about us have ; if it merely comes with its rules and maxims to set them all aside, and not to adopt them into itself, it is merely a sham Catholicism, one that will stand no shock, and upon which God will confer no blessing.

In quite a different class of persons from those I have alluded to, in one section of those who are called High Churchmen, another feeling has been for some time past strongly manifesting itself ; I mean that desire which I expressed in my last letter, for fellowship with the Greek Church. Men who think that we cannot abandon our position as witnesses against Rome, have asked earnestly, "Why we need be separate from men, who are themselves witnesses against her, why we cannot look upon them as brethren beloved ?" Ideally it is impossible, I think, as I have said already, to find any objection to their demands ; they seem as reasonable as they are pious ; but actually, the difficulties were innumerable. Our countrymen had gone forth ; they had seen the corruptions which are practised in the Greek temples, the ignorance which prevails among Greek priests ; they had been shocked that such a testimony should be borne to Christianity before Mahomedans ; they had mistaken their own vocation and duty, and instead of strengthening that which remained in the Eastern Church, instead of awakening its members to what they have and what they are, they set about most

dangerously and mischievously to persuade them that they had nothing and are nothing, and that they must abandon their Church, instead of cleaving to it with a stronger and deeper love, and so, by their prayers and tears, helping to make it what it should be. Yet it seemed quite impossible to remove this difficulty. We could not compel our countrymen to practise rites which they looked upon as idolatrous and sinful, for the sake of an ultimate object, however good. We could not call upon them to put such a sanction upon the principle of 'the end sanctifying the means.' We should have destroyed all that was sound and good in their minds, if we had. We could not compel poor men to offer up their prayers in a language they did not understand; the Greeks would not have thought us better Christians for doing so; and so it came to pass, that our countrymen, in the districts where the Greek Church is established, seemed to have no worship at all, to be united to each other by no bonds, at all events, merely to practise a religion, and entirely to abandon the idea of an universal Church. A strange and perplexing phenomenon certainly to Jews, to Greeks, and to Mahomedans—that members of a nation, which has the glorious characteristic of being the truth-speaking nation throughout the East, should seem to acknowledge no God of truth, and to seek no grace from Him.

Once more. For a long time it has been a conviction in the minds of many cultivated Churchmen, that the character of Mahomedanism has never been sufficiently investigated, and its relation to the Old as well as to the New Dispensation, considered. Very few, perhaps, may have adopted the opinions which are contained in Mr. Forster's book; but in numbers, there is a growing conviction, that there are some great elements of truth in that system, which require to be brought out and acknowledged; some great purpose in God's chastisement of that portion of His Church, into which we ought humbly to enter. On the one hand, it seems quite clear, that the great sin of Mahomedanism is not the assertion of a false principle, but the denial of a true one; and that if a practical faith in the Incarnation had prevailed in the countries over which the armies of the Prophet swept, they never could have been subdued by those armies;

they never could have felt that a mere man was meant to be the King of the Universe. On the other hand, it is quite evident that neither from Romanists, bowing down themselves confessedly and boastingly before a visible ruler, nor from the Greek Church as at present circumstanced, and doing much practical homage to the Czar of Muscovy, as the Islamite pays to the Sultan, can the testimony against this great denial proceed. Neither can it be borne by mere sects or congregations of Christians, having no apparent bond of connection with any other portion of the world but their own.

Now, while all these thoughts were at work in different earnest English minds, and while the recent events in Syria were drawing them strongly in that direction, we were told, that the Prussian monarch had proposed to the Bishops of the English Church, that a Bishopric should be established at Jerusalem. The proposal answered in every respect to the conditions which I set down in my last letter. It came not from the ministers of any German body of Christians, but from one whom we acknowledged as the rightful Sovereign of his land, and with whom England was in the strictest amity. It was not a proposition to dispense with anyone institution which we held precious, but expressly to do honour to that one which the German Protestants had hitherto slighted. It was not a call to us to recognize any congregations not governed by a Bishop, but expressly to receive congregations which otherwise would have been non-Episcopal under the authority of one. The heads of our Church did not go out of their way to seek that such an act might be done; they were asked to do it. If they did not choose to do it, they would have had to say, "We do, as the Bishops of God's Church, and acting as in His presence, determine that we will not take these means of giving a Church organization to our own Christian congregations, and to the German congregations abroad; we will not take these means of gratifying that deep feeling which has been so long at work among a great body of Christians on behalf of the Jews, and of giving it an ecclesiastical direction; we will not take this method of establishing a bond of fellowship between us and the Greeks, in the only way in which it can be established, through the only ecclesiastical officer who could be recognized by the Greeks as competent to hold transactions with them, or who could teach

them that we are Episcopalians in reality, and not merely in name. We will not take this method, this great Catholic method, of bringing our brothers of the German race into union with us as, Protestants against any power, be it Papal, be it Imperial, which interferes with Christ's Headship over His Church, and therefore which makes the Church feeble among Greeks, a contradiction among Romanists, a scandal to Mahomedans and Jews. And finally, we will not take this method of setting forth the true idea and law of Christendom, in direct opposition to the denial of Islamism, and so of accomplishing the work in spirit and in truth, which the Crusades sought to accomplish by visible arms."

And now, Sir, according to my promise, I proceed to consider your arguments. The first of them is founded on the following:—

Extract from the Prussian State Gazette, dated Berlin, Nov. 16,
(I print with your italics, and in your translation.)

"The result of the negociations commenced by Prussia in order to obtain for the *Evangelical* Christians of the German nation the same advantages in the Turkish empire, especially in Palestine and Syria, as are enjoyed by the Christians of the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches, excites general interest. It is in fact so interesting an event in modern history, that it seems desirable to obviate involuntary misunderstandings by a simple narrative of the occasion and object of the negotiation.

"The concord of the great Powers of Europe, to which the Turkish empire is indebted for its independence and the world for peace, offered an opportunity essentially to improve the situation of the German Evangelical Christians in the East. To profit by this opportunity in a manner worthy of its political position was considered by Prussia as a sacred duty, especially because it might be foreseen with much probability, that the great impulse given to the commercial intercourse between nations would also increase the connection of German *Protestants* in the East, and perhaps lead to the *foundation of settlements* by them in those countries.

"Seen in a general point of view, it might perhaps have appeared sufficient for the promotion of science, industry, and

trade, and also for the facilitating settlement, if Prussia had only aimed at procuring for all its subjects independence, without difference of religion, as far as they needed it, whether as travellers or as settlers; that legal protection for their persons and property the Hatti Scherif of Gulhane had promised; but in the pursuance of these objects, it appeared in what a much more advantageous position the King was, in respect to his Roman Catholic, than in respect to his Protestant subjects.

“These objects appeared to be closely connected with certain religious rights and privileges. The *Latin and Greek Churches* in the East are *distinct bodies, with common discipline and order*, founded on ancient treaties, and therefore enjoy in this capacity the benefit of being acknowledged, which includes the most important political rights. The *Greek Church* enjoys the protection of the Emperor of Russia; and the *Latin Church* that of the great Roman Catholic Powers. The Prussian government needs only to join in the endeavours of the latter, sufficiently to remove all obstacles that must still exist to the particular interests of its Roman Catholic subjects.

“The *Protestant Church*, on the other hand, was destitute, up to the latest times, of all legal recognition. What State of the Continent could more naturally desire that in the present state of the world they also might enjoy similar corporate privileges than Prussia, which has among its subjects more than half of *all the Members of the Protestant Church* in Germany? and ought not the *Protestant Church*, as a member of the *Catholic Church* of Christ, to possess the right of assembling its adherents on the scene of the origin of Christianity, and *freely to proclaim Evangelical truth* according to their *Confession* and *Liturgy*?

“Under these circumstances the Prussian government could not in duty, be deterred by the difficulties of various kinds which opposed the attainment of an object so intimately connected with the religious feelings of the nation. The question was, with a just appreciation of all the circumstances, to look for the way which might most certainly lead to the proposed end: partial negotiations with the Porte, notwithstanding the very amicable relations between the two governments, offered no

prospect of real success. The Turkish government does not yet feel the immediate connection of Prussia with the East; the Porte knows Prussia only as a great European Power, by whose agreement with other great Powers its safety is guaranteed.

“The relations of Great Britain with the Porte are very different. England, by its naval power and its commerce, possesses great influence in the East. A union with England, whose *Church*, in its *origin* and *doctrines*, is *closely allied* to the German *Evangelical Church*, appeared, therefore, to be the surest means of obtaining the important object.

“The negotiations to be opened for this purpose depended, however, on the previous question, whether Great Britain was inclined *to do justice to the independence and national honour of the German Evangelical Church*, and to treat this affair *in perfect union with Prussia on the fixed principle that Protestant Christendom*, under the protection of England and Prussia, should appear to the Turkish government *as one power*, and thus obtain from it all the advantages of being legally recognised.

“The steps which were taken to settle this previous question had the most satisfactory results. *Not only* did the British government show itself ready with decided good-will to enter into the subject *on the basis proposed, but the heads of the English Church* entered with warm interest into the proposal. *All parties agreed in the conviction, that the diversities of Christian worship, according to languages and nations, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation—that is to say, in the Protestant Church—are upheld by a superior unity, the Head of the Church Himself; and that in this unity, to which all the diversities refer, as to their centre, is the foundation of true Christian toleration.* Besides this conviction, His Majesty the King *too warmly participates in the religious sympathies of the nation, which are so intimately interwoven with the origin of the Augsburg Confession, and the recollection of the champions of the faith of the German Protestant Church, to have consented to any thing contrary to this firm common basis of the entire German Protestant Church.*

“By a cordial co-operation directed in this spirit, *a distinct Bishopric has been founded in Jerusalem, in which all Protestant*

Christians may find a common support and point of union in respect of the Turkish government, and in all cases when their representation as one Church may be necessary ; while at the same time the German Protestants preserve the independence of their Church. With respect to their particular confession and liturgy, His Majesty the King provides one-half of the expense of the Bishopric, and he participates therefore with the Crown of England in the right of nominating the Bishop.

“Thus the religious wants of the new Bishopric would be provided for ; but as a religious community cannot be blessed with prosperity, except in union with the instruction of youth and the care of the sick, a still greater support is to be expected for this purpose from the pious interest and charity of the *Protestant Christians in Prussia and other German countries.*

“The foundation of an hospital is especially important, in which travellers, who will be more numerous attracted to Jerusalem by scientific inquiries, religious interest, or other objects, may be received, in case they should need assistance.

“In reference to the above, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs has addressed two circulars to the Provincial governments, and to the Consistories, recapitulating the preceding statements, and informing them that it is His Majesty’s pleasure that a general collection should be made in *all the Protestant Churches* of the Prussian monarchy ; the sum to be collected to be sent to the Minister, M. Eichorn.

“The Consistories are especially desired to take into consideration the important object to which the collection is to be applied, and as His Majesty the King has this object so much at heart, they are enjoined to impress it on the minds of their *Protestant brethren.*”—*Prussian State Gazette*, Nov. 17.

II. The following is the circular which M. Eichorn, Minister of Religious Worship, addressed for this purpose to each of the Regencies of the kingdom.

“His Majesty the King has taken advantage of his participation in the preservation of peace in the East, to procure for the future a protection for *the Evangelical Church* in Turkey,

similar to that enjoyed by the *Greek* and *Latin Churches* in that country. As this affair is connected with the most important political rights, to the privation of which *Evangelical Christians* were heretofore exposed by the violent and arbitrary conduct of the local authorities, the advantage which His Majesty has endeavoured to obtain for them by his influence is so much the greater, as, setting aside scientific interests and the advancement of religion, which inspire a superior ardour, the progress of commerce will hereafter attract a greater number amongst them to create important establishments. In consequence of these considerations, the King has not hesitated, in concert with Great Britain, to make considerable sacrifices out of his private fortune, in order to secure for ever *for the German Evangelical Church, which is the mother of all the Evangelical Confessions which exist*, a position in the country where *Christianity was produced*, in harmony with *her* dignity and grandeur, beside the *Latin* and *Greek Churches*.

“A church will be speedily be built at Jerusalem, for the German *Protestants*. It will be opened for their worship, according to their *Confession* and their *Liturgy*. But to secure this object, an hospital must be constructed for *Evangelical travellers* of small fortune, that scientific or religious pursuits may attract to Jerusalem. It will be necessary, likewise, *to found a school*. It is not necessary to explain the intimate relation which exists between these institutions and the influence of religion. His Majesty has, in consequence, commanded that, for the completion of this object, a general collection shall be made in the *Evangelical Churches* throughout the Prussian Monarchy. The Regency is invited to take the necessary measures to effect this collection. They will send me the sums collected. The Royal Consistory shall receive a private circular, announcing the Sunday fixed for this collection, and will appoint the Clergymen who are to preside at it.

“The Minister of Public Worship,

“EICHORN.”

The view taken of this transaction in Prussia may be further illustrated by the following extract from an article in the

Allgemeine Zeitung, which appeared in the *Conservative Journal*, of November 20.

“Through the activity of the *Evangelical* Missionaries, a number of Jews at Jerusalem had been converted to Christianity, including many distinguished men of learning, and thus had a small *Evangelical congregation* been formed at Jerusalem. Neither the *Catholic* nor the Greek Church can complain of having been despoiled, for these converts from Judaism belonged to neither. If, however, they fear to be *outstripped* by a greater extension of the *Evangelical Church* in Palestine, let them exert that mental and spiritual energy which God has given them, to awaken a conviction that the Christian doctrine and a Christian life are manifested by them in a greater degree of purity. From this noble contest they are in no way excluded; and in the place of those revolting dissensions and that selfish jealousy, which characterized the conduct of European nations in the Holy Land at the time of the crusades, may we now behold the noblest emulation of which the world has ever had a knowledge. The establishment at Jerusalem of an *Evangelical congregation*, with Ecclesiastical endowments, and by the protection of England and Prussia, under the guardianship of the Porte, shielded against the oppressions to which *Evangelical Christians* have hitherto been exposed in the East, is a *germ of Christianity* from which great future results may be anticipated; but as at all times a true spirit of Christian activity without has served to quicken the fruits of faith within, so has this foundation in Jerusalem called into life one of the most momentous appearances ever witnessed by Europe. As two parents in their love towards their child enter into a more exalted union, even so the *Evangelical Churches of Prussia and England*, HITHERTO DIVIDED, have, in this daughter Church of Jerusalem, tendered to each other the hand of true union. It is not contemplated indeed that the English Church should abandon her institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England; but the two Churches, by their recent act, have mutually recognized that, in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are non-essential, the union in spirit the essential;—their

conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a daughter Church, in which the nomination of the Ecclesiastics shall be vested alternately in Prussia and England; in which the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles are recognized as founded in an intimate community of faith; in which the rites of the English and Prussian Churches are to be accepted as the simultaneous expression of one and the same Evangelical Christianity. The conquest of Constantine, the fortifying of Paris, the expulsion of a Queen from Spain, and a hundred other events that our time has witnessed, may wear a more pompous look, and may, at the first glance, appear of greater importance than this small commencement of a *united Evangelical congregation* at Jerusalem; but whoever is really acquainted with the affairs of the Levant, will recognise in this unostentatious commencement, *the germ of a great development.* The grain of mustard seed will be seen to grow up and to shoot forth its branches: nor can the present age show any thing more truly great than this intimate recognition and approach to each other of two brothers, the English nation and the most important race of Northern Germany—nothing nobler than this association of two brothers in the most exalted aim of man. England and Prussia have here found a point of union on which the blessing of God may rest.”*

Now the first remark that I would make upon these documents is a very obvious one, and yet one which I think you have rather overlooked. It is that they are intended to explain the circumstance of the King of Prussia having applied to the heads of the English Church to consecrate a bishop. Whatever the words may say, this is the act to which the words refer. Secondly, I would wish to draw your attention to a phrase which occurs very frequently in these papers. I mean the phrase which you have translated ‘the Protestant,’ and which you ought have translated ‘the Evangelical’ Church. Now if you ask me whether I know what this phrase means, that is to say, whether

* It may be as well to mention that the article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* does not pretend to be official in any sense. That in the *Gazette* is, no doubt, semi official: the language being that of the Editor, the sentiments generally those of the Government.

I recognize two Churches in the world, one a Catholic, one an Evangelical, I should of course answer, No. Such a notion, I believe, is at variance with the creed; it is entirely at variance with everything which I have said respecting the constitution of the Church in these letters. The greatest and deepest desire that I am conscious of, is that of bringing all men to the feeling that there can be but one Church—though that Church may exist in a number of different nations—though it may be quite right that in some subordinate particulars it should be modified by the character of those nations—though it is, I believe, actually demanded by its constitution, that it should recognise and sustain the distinct government of each of those nations. A Church united merely in a profession of a certain doctrine, though it be the true Evangelic doctrine, is one of which I cannot without difficulty frame to myself the notion; for the Evangelic doctrine seems to me to speak of a *Kingdom* which is one, and universal. But if you ask me whether I am angry when I see this word Evangelical Church appearing in a German document, whether I wish to convince Germans that they have not the elements of Church life among them, I must in conformity with the principles which I have laid down, say—certainly not. The eager use of this phrase, so far from being an indication of a lower state of feeling than that which prevailed among them formerly, is, I believe, one of the most striking indications of that ecclesiastical tendency which is characteristic of this age. They cannot be content to look upon themselves merely as sects; they must at all hazards, and at the price of almost any inconsistencies, try to reckon themselves—Lutherans, Calvinists, and all—as members of a common body. Now that this has been found impracticable, that in order to carry out such a scheme, even in the most imperfect way, the State has been obliged to come in, and to exercise its functions in a manner wholly incompatible with spiritual freedom; of this fact I am quite as well aware as you can be—and Germans are, I apprehend, much better aware of it than either of us. Therefore they will advance or retreat. In England we can tolerate gross inconsistencies, provided they do not seem to to bear on our practical life. With the Germans, a nation of

thinkers, this is impossible. They must relinquish the idea of a Church altogether, or they must work on till it is realized in a consistent form. The question is, whether we shall assist the first effort or the second — whether we shall determine to make them mere sects, or rather (for the existence of sects is becoming more impracticable every day) urge them into Pantheism; or whether we shall do what in us lies, that the feeling which is latent in their inconsistent language may be brought forth, and find its fitting expression.

Now it seems to me, that the act of a German king coming forth to desire the foundation of a Bishopric, is the most hopeful symptom which can well be conceived of this progress. It is the king who would naturally be most jealous of every hint that Episcopacy is desirable, for were Episcopacy once established in his own land, the kind of power which he has exercised in spiritual matters must cease. I believe his position would be much safer, much more honourable than it is now; but his dominion would be checked and circumscribed by an organized spiritual power. At the same time I cannot help thinking, that if the king moved in this matter without his people, if they did not feel that the step which he had taken was one consistent with their national feelings as Germans, and with the best and truest religious feelings which are at work amongst them, the attempt would be artificial. Episcopacy would be a plant forced into the soil by a royal hand, not a gift sought for from God, to satisfy wants of which the people had themselves become conscious. Looking at the matter in this light, I do in the first place most heartily rejoice that the experiment should have been made as it has been made in a way not to alarm the prejudices of the Prussian people; in a way which appeals to their imaginations, and their Christian sympathies, in a way which may be justified by the strongest political reasons, and by their Protestant feelings. And, secondly, I rejoice that this measure should have been set before them in language perfectly natural—perfectly expressive of German feelings, though it be to us in a great measure unintelligible.

The only point to be considered, as I said in my last letter,

is, whether our Church is in anywise compromised by the use of this language; whether we are committed to the approbation of anything which as English Churchmen we cannot approve. Now after attentively considering these documents, I am thoroughly convinced that we are not. I do not say that we are not committed, Sir, to some things which *you* would disapprove, because it is evidently your opinion, that we of the English Church have a right to call upon the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany to pronounce Luther and Calvin, and all their Fathers, heretics and schismatics, and evil men; that we have a right to call upon them to declare that they were not Christians, till we admitted them into our fellowship; that we have a right to impose upon them penances of our devising, for their own sins, and those of their ancestors. Unquestionably, I think the Church of England has by the act of entering into intercourse with the king of Prussia respecting this Bishopric, renounced its claim to do any of these things. But there are some persons who think with me, that had she assumed this position, had she dared to make any of these demands, she would have committed a crime in the sight of God and men; that she would have required the Germans to commit a crime which would for ever have cut them off from any connection with the past, or any blessings in the future; and that if the sin of the Jews in their contempt of other people was avenged sevenfold, our heavier guilt would have been avenged seventyfold.

I think the English Church has gone one step further than this. I think it is evident from the passage in the document which you have printed in italics, beginning, "All parties are agreed in the conviction, that the diversities of Christian worship," &c., that the English Bishops did acknowledge a common meeting point with Protestants, as Protestants, in the confession of Christ, as the Head and Centre of the Church. This is the obvious meaning of that paragraph. Of course, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, did not talk about historical developments and so forth. Such words do not belong to our vernacular tongue. They are, as every one must perceive, thoroughly German. Neither did they talk of the centre of unity being for the Evangelical Church:

that phrase has as little meaning for us as the other.* But they did maintain the doctrine, which a German expresses thus to himself, that the centre of the Church is Christ Himself, and not any visible ruler. And they reduced this principle into an act, by appointing a Bishop; thus declaring more strongly than any language could declare it, their belief that Christ's Church does not stand on opinions or doctrines, but that it is a constitution to which all men are intended to belong, and to which all men may belong who do not choose to reject it.

And thus much, Sir, for your first section.

2. The object of your next Section is to prove, "That the position asserted in the Prussian Gazette to have been made the basis of a convention by the Heads of the English Church, acting in her name, was urged upon the Church a century and a half ago, by the whole force of the government of William III., and was even then rejected in the most marked way by the Convocation of the Clergy."

Of course, if what I have said under the last head be true, the point to consider is not, what kind of language is used in the Prussian State Gazette, but what has actually been done by the Bishops of England, and what the acts which they have done signify. I am willing, however, to let you state the case for yourself. It is affirmed, then, in the Prussian State Gazette, that English Bishops agreed with the Prussian Monarch in affirming that Christ is the only centre of unity to His Church, and that upon this ground they have established a Bishop at Jerusalem, who was consecrated by the Bishops of Christ's Church in England. This is what is affirmed in the Prussian State documents to be the *basis of the convention* between the parties in this transaction.

Now the evidence you have produced, and the comments you have made upon it, are intended to prove this point, that the government of William having established Presbyterianism in Scotland, endeavoured to treat all Presbyterian bodies on the same footing with Episcopalian bodies. The only point of differ-

* It is not however fairly given in the translation. *Namentlich*, I believe, does not mean "that is to say," but *especially*. It has been confounded with *nämlich*.

ence between the cases is this, that by the one act the English Church would have proclaimed Episcopacy to be of no value; by the other, she proclaims it to be the greatest; by the one she must have reduced herself to the level of those with whom she was negotiating; by the other, she does what in her lies to raise them to her level. I grant you, Sir, that the comparison of these two proceedings is a most useful ‘Aid to Reflection.’

3. The doctrine of your Third Section is, “That the same position was similarly rejected not many years afterwards in a correspondence with the Eastern Catholic Church, which anathematizes both the principle of Protestantism and its two leading sects by name.”

This assertion is maintained by some documents of considerable interest and importance. The most valuable of these relate to the opinions of the Eastern Church, as expressed in the acts of the Synod of Bethlehem in the year 1672. These acts affirm that “of the Catholic Church, since all men without exception must die, and cannot remain any of them for ever as heads, our Lord Jesus Christ Himself is Head, and Himself holds the ropes in the steerage of the Church, and steers through the Ministry of the Holy Fathers.” That “the Holy Ghost hath set in all the particular Churches, that is, in all that are really and properly churches, and consist of members which are really and properly such, as leaders and shepherds, and, in a word, not by any figure of speech, but truly and properly as rulers and heads—the Bishops; they looking, that is, to the author and finisher of our salvation, and referring to Him the virtue of their ministrations, in respect of their being heads.” That, “together with their other wicked errors, this also is held by the Calvinists—that forsooth a simple Priest and a Bishop are the same thing, and that it is possible to do without a Bishop, and have the Church governed by a number of Priests, and that not a Bishop only, but a Priest also, can ordain another Priest, and that a number of Priests together can ordain a Bishop.” That “it ever hath been the doctrine of the Eastern Church, that the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the

Church, that without a Christian Bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man, no, not so much as in name."

I will not ask how the Bishops of the Eastern Church arrived at this last conclusion, one which is refuted by plain fact, seeing that Christian men do exist at all events in name without an Episcopacy. I will not ask this question, Sir, for nothing seems to me so hateful as to make our brethren offenders for a word; and I do think that, allowing for this extravagance, the general tone of these passages is earnest, and beautiful, and strikingly expressive of the feelings which the Eastern Church has preserved through its history, and which it is our business to strengthen and not to impair. Therefore I can conceive that the greatest obligation is laid on us, at once to enter into correspondence with them, through the only ecclesiastical officer whom they can receive; to show them by facts, and not merely by words, that we are a Church constituted in the way in which they believe a Church ought to be constituted.

And this necessity becomes the more imperative, from the facts which are set forth in the other parts of this section. For you shew most clearly, that the non-juring Bishops, though they took the greatest pains to enter into communion with the Eastern Church, though they were willing to denounce and anathematize Lutherans and Calvinists, yet were utterly unable to convince the Eastern Bishops that they were indeed parts of the Catholic Church; that they were not merely members of a Protestant sect. That experiment having been tried, and tried in vain, it would seem as if but one other remained. We must convince the Greeks that we have Bishops, by shewing that we cannot permit our congregations in the East to exist without one; and if we can besides shew them, that those very persons whom they denounce, mainly because they rejected the ordinance of Episcopacy (for all the other evils they evidently trace to this source), are themselves willing to meet them upon their own terms,—the evidence will be still more striking, their faith will be confirmed, and their charity enlarged.

4. Your next proposition is, "That the Convocation, the non-juring Bishops, and the Eastern Catholic Church had good rea-

son for disclaiming all community of principle with what was called Protestant religion in general, and with the sects of Lutherans and Calvinists in particular." The good reasons are, First, that Protestantism is in its very nature an assertion of the principle of heresy. Secondly, that this being its principle, it has developed itself in different forms ; that one of these is the latitudinarian form, one the pietistic or evangelical form, one the rationalizing. Thirdly, that there have been corresponding developments to these in the English Church, which have brought different portions of it into close proximity with dissent. The general inference is, that Protestantism having this downward tendency, and this dangerous affinity with what is most evil among ourselves, the farther we stand aloof from it the better it is for us ; the more we come into contact with it the more we shall suffer.

You have here touched upon subjects of the deepest interest. What kind of evidence have you brought to bear upon them ? A selection of passages from your own diary, containing fragments of conversations with two, or at most three pastors in Geneva ; with Mr. —, the public librarian at — ; with the Moderator at — ; with Professor —, who was introduced to you at Oxford ; with a distinguished German, with whom you had also a conversation at Oxford, of which conversation you have given this account,—“ he argued stoutly with me against the doctrine that the delivery of the traditive faith of the Church in baptism to the baptized person to hold, is the root of all subsequent orthodoxy to the individual.”

I say nothing, Sir, about the justice or the propriety of repeating these dialogues ; I say nothing of the feelings which I, as a member of your University and a Minister of your Church, experienced when I found that this was the way in which it was proved to foreigners, that we had a sounder faith, a more practical Christianity, and a more refined education than theirs. I say nothing of the wisdom or the piety of attempting to retail discourses respecting the solemnest questions of theology in much the same style, and probably with about the same accuracy, which Prince Pückler Muskau and Mr. Willis employ in retailing the tittle-tattle of dinner-tables or drawing-rooms. On all these points your own taste and conscience must be your judge ; it is not for

me to pronounce any opinion. But I must protest against the notion—not that I think any reasonable person on your side is likely to entertain it—that the least light upon the ecclesiastical history of modern Europe, is to be struck out by such methods as these. I protest still more strongly against the notion, that the statements which you say that you put forward to confound and crush the foreign heretics, are to be taken as specimens of the instruction which Oxford or the English Church gives to her sons. In the midst of many deficiencies which there may be in our Aristotelian discipline, I have always regarded this as one of its blessings, that it seeks to give us a certain habit of mind—to make the truths which we learn a part of our life. Now surely the tone in which you say you went forth proclaiming to the Pastors in Geneva and to the Professors of Germany,—I am a Deacon of the English Church, come forth to tell you what the Church believes, and what we in Oxford believe, and how necessary humility is in order to arrive at truth,*—is as much at variance with the spirit of these teachings, as anything I ever heard of. Nor can I conceive anything much less adapted to the circumstances of those with whom you spoke. Whatever you may fancy, the dogmatic temper is one which has been especially characteristic of Protestants. Instead of throwing aside all dogmas, the great fault of the age immediately succeeding that of the first Reformers, was, that it made dogmas all in all. Luther *himself* loved the creeds of the old Church, because they were real and personal. If you had looked into his writings, you would know, that the substitution of the Creed for the scholastic teachings of his time, and not the setting up of his own judgment or opinions, was the great object of his life. In defending himself against the Romanists, he was unfortunately driven to become scholastic. His followers, and the Calvinists became still more determinately so in defending their opinions against each other. A hard doctrinalism took the place of every thing living and practical. Then came one of the Pietistic re-actions, asserting the importance of real

* “M. — agreed with me on the necessity of humility in order to arrive at truth.”—Palmer’s Aids to Reflection, p. 48.

faith in Christ and union with him, against the systematic tendency of the current theology; then the latitudinarian re-action against both, affirming dogmatical theology to be the imposition of priests, spiritual life to be the dream of mystics, mundane morality to be all in all. Such was the prevalent faith in the 18th century. Another and a more powerful re-action, beginning with us and penetrating into Germany, to a great degree undermined this heartless temper. But the Evangelical system, which was the fruit of this re-action, being merely connected with feelings of personal religion, could explain none of the deeper problems respecting the nature and relations of men, with which the German mind was occupied. Hence it was unable to make head against that new form of Rationalism (so often in England confounded with the old Rationalism of the last century), which was the fruit of that critical philosophy whereby the sensual and materialist philosophy of Locke and Condillac was superseded. This Rationalism has taken many forms; some of them abutting closely on Infidelity, some actually touching upon Catholicism; but every one, as well as the Pietistic feeling, and what you call the State Establishment feeling, indicating the need of something fixed and real to meet it.

Now, Sir, if you had shown that you had derived from your Oxford teaching principles so deep, and fixed, and real, that you were able to sympathize with these forms and movements of human thought; if you had had the simplicity and courage, like the old confessor of the Church, to repeat the Apostle's Creed, and say, 'here is that thing which you are seeking after; here are those realities which the reason of man and the heart of man are requiring,'—I am certain that what you said would have called forth an echo in the mind of many a Pietist and many a Rationalist. The former might have felt, 'this is what my individual life is craving for;' the latter, 'this is what the race of man is craving for.' But when you talked of dogmas; when you said that dogmas were what our Church cared for, and what Oxford cared for, you necessarily repelled all the truest and honestest men you came in contact with. They knew what a curse the spirit of dogmatism had been in the Protestant bodies; they knew what a source of division and strife it had been.

They wanted something else ; they wanted to be told of a real bond, which should hold them together, and you could not tell them of any such thing ; you could only set up your phrases against theirs, and make them feel that while you denounced every form of private judgment, you were really bowing down to your own judgment and worshipping it, far more than they worshipped theirs.

My answer, then, to the argument which you draw from the continual growth of divisions and heresies among Protestants is this—There is that tendency which you speak of ; it is manifesting itself still ; and yet it is equally true, that God has not ceased to govern the world, nor to direct the mutations of human opinion towards the consolidation and establishment of His Church. But for these Pietistic and Rationalizing movements, the religion of Germany would have been either one of mere dogmatism, or it would have ceased altogether. By means of them the desire of truths, which at once belong to man's spirit and transcend it ; the continual hope of an organization which shall not be a mere formal state organization, but a spiritual, Catholic organization, has been kept alive. A thousand circumstances connected with German politics, religion, and philosophy, are now tending to bring that wish and longing hope to a head. In this case, as in all others, there must be some one to interpret the feeling ; some one to utter it, in order that it may be conscious of itself ; some one to embody it in a visible act. Your way of showing your dislike to the evils which Protestantism run to seed has produced, is to meet the first act which announces such a feeling, and to anathematise it,—thus doing, Sir, what in you lies to make all the divisions, all the heresies which there are in Europe, hopeless and perpetual. A worthy object, certainly, for an enemy of Protestantism and negations to aim at !

But you have discovered certain movements in the English Church and nation, which are analogous to them which you say have taken place in Germany. The Honourable Mr. S., who was once a member of the English Church, and is now a Romanist, has told you something about his former opinions. A distinguished Russian lady, who was a member of the Greek

Church, and has joined the English Church, supposing it to be a Protestant sect, has communicated to you something respecting her present opinions. You obtained a little further light from another foreigner, whom you met in Oxford, and Mr. —, of Geneva, and the Rev. Mr. —, of Paris, made known to you the whole secret. I have not had the advantage of conversing with any of these persons; if I had, I should not think it necessary to mention the circumstance, unless I were writing a fashionable novel, and wished to announce in the newspapers how many proper names and piquant anecdotes might be found in it. For I really conceive, that by help of our popular literature, of the bills upon our walls, and of the denunciations in the Oxford tracts, we may safely adopt the conclusion, that a party called Evangelical, and having some sympathy with the Pietists of the Continent, exists in our land; nor do I find that your private sources of information have done more than put you in possession of this important fact. Certainly, they have not enabled you to offer a single hint as to the way in which this party ought to be treated; in which its errors, whatever they are, may be corrected, and its truths, if it have any, may be brought out into greater clearness and power. All I can gather from these passages of your book is, that you regard them either as a besieged body, who may possibly be starved into surrender, if they have no hope of supplies from without; or else as men with great capacities for disease, but who may be saved from falling into it, if a sufficiently strict *cordon sanitaire* can be drawn between them and the infected regions of Germany and Switzerland. Now, as neither of these opinions seems to me reasonable, and as the subject is one of considerable importance, especially in reference to the topic upon which we are now engaged, I may be permitted perhaps to give what strikes me as a truer view of it.

I quite agree with you, Sir, that the footing upon which our intercourse with Germany at present stands, is not a desirable one; and that, perhaps, no class suffers more from it, than the one to which you have alluded. Men of pious, affectionate, often cultivated minds, come over to England, who have felt the want of what they call a religious atmosphere in their own

country. They are struck with the free play which is given to the moral and spiritual feelings of our countrymen. They are delighted with our religious associations, meetings, speeches. They praise them with a warmth which is evidently not counterfeited, and which to men in their circumstances is most natural. Now that persons who had begun to suspect that there is something hollow in the ways by which our religious sympathies display themselves, who had begun to sigh for something more pure and spiritual, should find themselves complimented, not in the trite vulgar language to which they are used, but in free, intelligent, genuine accents, upon the very qualities in which we are sadly deficient ;—this cannot be good. It tends to keep down the tone of feeling among us, when it might perhaps be raised ; to make us think that all is right, when a secret monitor whispers that much is very wrong.

Neither do I think that such men, in returning to their own country, can really do it the good which they wish to do. They must impart to many a discontent that things are not, as in Germany, they cannot be ; a craving after some of the most superficial, outside appearances of our English life ; an indifference about the cultivation of what is good among themselves. To these influences may, perhaps, be attributed the growth of a class of writers in Germany, who merely imitate the tones of our popular Evangelical preachers, with more of warmth and unction, perhaps, than is generally found in them ; and whose works are translated, and eagerly bought up in England, because it is always pleasant, though most dangerous, to dwell amidst the echoes of our own voices, and to convince ourselves, if we can, that no other sounds are worthy of being listened to.

Meantime the sons of our Evangelical teachers, and many who have been brought up in their school, are engaged in a very different work. They are studying the higher literature and the philosophy of Germany. And here a whole world of thoughts is suddenly unfolded to them, of which they had only caught faint glimpses, or heard of by distant report before. They cannot turn away from these thoughts, let them be warned to do so as often as they may ; for thoughts which concern our-

selves, our own being and the being of our race, cannot be put from us, as if they meant nothing, or as if we had nothing to do with them. The dark hints and intimations of mischief which reach them, only seem to indicate a dread of realities, an unwillingness that things should be seen just as they are. Doubtless when they begin to converse again with their own climates and countrymen, and feel how wide a gulf seems to separate them from our ordinary English thoughts and feelings, they do sometimes regret the knowledge which they have acquired, and almost wish they could forget it. But it is a vain wish if it could be seriously entertained, and it is mixed with so much sense of superior light, with so much disgust at the low, worldly, commercial spirit which governs here, with so many desires, however vague, for our reformation, that it is soon changed into bitterness and alienation. It is very easy, Sir, to denounce such persons and their tempers of mind—very easy indeed; but it is not so easy to persuade ourselves that we have a right to do so; that their tempers, so far as they are evil, are not ours also, and that they are not, in many respects, more earnest and more ready to bear reproach than we are. At all events, it is of some importance to consider, whether some of the best stuff which we have in England, some that we shall most need when its trial day comes, is to be thrown aside as worthless, because we do not like to be disturbed in our opinions, or because we are not able to deal with theirs. For here lies the secret. The thoughts are awakened; it is not the devil who has awakened them, though he may seek to take the management of them. We ought to be able to meet them, and we are not able. We are too busy in abusing one another, and anathematising one another, in writing gossip in the newspapers, in calling this man a Low Churchman, and that man a Puseyite, in tearing one another to pieces about Poetry Professorships, and such fiddle-faddle, to have any leisure for deep thought and earnest meditations. And till we find such leisure, men will seek elsewhere for what we cannot give.

It is not, then, this Jerusalem Bishopric which will bring us into contact, either with that which is most feeble in the Pietistic, or that which is most dangerous in the Rationalising side of

German life. That contact exists already; the commerce is established; the sea has failed to be an effectual *cordon sanitaire*: all our devices will assuredly fail also: the question is, how the intercourse may be turned to profit and not to evil. My own conviction is, that if anything will put an end to what is most vicious in the tone of our modern fashionable chapel and bazaar Christianity, and at the same time will call out that which is strong and healthful in the feelings of those who have given their sanction to it, a more extended, and less suspicious communion with German thoughts and feelings is likely to produce that effect. The kind of communion between the corresponding circles in the different nations, which is what we have at present, may, as I have shown, lead to exactly the opposite consequences. But the moment our divines begin to know what their brethren abroad have been really thinking and working at for the last eighty or a hundred years, they must begin to perceive that a merely sentimental religion of comforts and experiences, a merely social religion of coteries and circles, a merely outward religion of excitements cannot avail in this our day. They must 'lengthen their cords, and strengthen their stakes.' They must dare to encounter those awful thoughts respecting God Himself which occupied the Church in the first ages; they must dare to ask themselves how He has constituted us, in ourselves, and in relation to our fellow-men. This, Sir, I believe, is the way by which we shall be led to understand the preciousness of ancient patristic divinity; this is the way by which we shall be trained to know practically what the Church Catholic is; this is the way by which we shall be taught to approach holy mysteries with real and not fictitious awe. Other means have been tried. All the faults of the Evangelical School have been paraded forth in sermons and tracts, in tales and in newspapers; it has been censured gravely; it has been turned into ridicule; and a rival school has risen up beside it to draw off many of its members. I do not say, that all these methods have not been intended by God's providence to do it good, or at least to do this nation good. I believe they have produced good, though I fear that the strife and bitterness which they have occasioned has been commensurate with it. But

whatever the good has been, I cannot see that it is likely to last. On the contrary, I seem to myself to observe many indications of a determination on the part of some good men to shut themselves up in a system which they had half acknowledged to be insufficient, because they see no alternative but that of adopting another system which they consider far worse. And I tremble still more lest many half-sincere people should persuade themselves and others, that our modern religious tone is one which it is desirable to preserve, and with which we ought to be contented, precisely because it has been so severely condemned by those who have attacked much, which I agree with them in believing that we ought not to part with. So far then am I from expecting that this English opposition, though it may have awakened some to the study of truths which they had previously disregarded, will ultimately cure the evils of our Evangelical system, that I fear it may be accidentally the means of aggravating them. Whereas if the honest and excellent men of this party can be brought into communication with men of another country, who will sympathise with them in their strongest and deepest feelings, who will at the same time show them that they want something more than these feelings, who by their errors as well as their truth, by the weakness which needs Church discipline to guide it, as well as by the earnest and strong desires which need Church ordinances and Church union to satisfy them, will teach them that mere individual religion is not all that is needful for man, who, by the deeper inquiries in which they have been engaged—inquiries which must either terminate in universal denial, or in the acknowledgment of a real, personal, manifested Being—will show them that God, and not self, must be the centre of our theology, I cannot but believe that a blessing will come to them and to us all, which will be precious beyond calculation. So far from the result being that this school will assume a more uncharitable tone towards those who are maintaining what are called High Church doctrines, I am convinced that they will then first begin to understand what these doctrines mean, what is the real ground of them, how they may hold them without sacrificing any one positive principle which they have derived from the

teaching of the Reformers. So far will they be from sympathising more with the hangers-on of their party who would teach them to scoff at the early ages, that they will then first see how indispensable the teaching of those ages is. So far will they be from acquiring a greater horror of Frenchmen, or Spaniards, or Italians, as such, from this intercourse with our own true Teutonic brethren, that they will then first be able to receive the good which each of these nations may impart to us, without peril either to their English or their Christian feelings. These thoughts, Sir, I have been beginning to entertain for a long time. They have been forced upon me by the observations and reflections which I have made on the present position of parties in England, and they have displaced some prejudices, though I believe not one conviction, which I had cherished previously. But I own I was not the least prepared for that opening of communication with Germans which this measure of the Jerusalem Bishopric has afforded. I did not expect that Providence would so soon make known to us a way by which we might impart to Germans, not one of those temporary institutions which are the growth of a night and which perish in a night; not any of those accidents of our present state of religious feeling which we rather hope that God will reform among ourselves than make us the means of transmitting to others; not even any one of those institutions, however precious, which belong to us as members of a nation, and which might not be fitting for those of another; but an institution which has been among us for generations, and yet which belongs to us no further than it belongs to all mankind. I did not dream that in our present low state of religious feeling and theological knowledge, we should yet be permitted to endow others in many respects wiser and better than ourselves, with blessings which we have never rightly used. I did not think that in so wonderful a manner those who have undervalued institutions among ourselves would have been taught to prize them. I did not suppose that those who fancied the opinions of the Reformation to be all in all, would have seen men who hold these opinions coming to tell us that they need the ordinance of Episcopacy, in order that they may be able to prosecute a religious object.

I had not imagined that by such a plan as this our own dignity as a great Catholic nation could have been upheld, even in the sight of those who have a right to say, that as individual men, as Christian divines, we are of very puny stature indeed. But seeing that God has vouchsafed this mercy to us so unexpectedly, I believe it must depend wholly on our willingness to use it, whether those other blessings which He may design for us, in raising us to a higher standard of spiritual character, shall really be ours or no.

5. The object of your fifth, sixth, and seventh sections I may state in a few words. In the first you undertake to prove by extracts from a debate in Parliament, by the Act of last session authorizing the consecration of foreign Bishops, by some passages from Dr. McCaul's sermon at the consecration of Bishop Alexander, and by the advertisement respecting the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric, that in spite of all the opposition which was made by the Convocation and non-jurors so many years ago, and in spite of the progress which Protestants have made towards deeper evil since, it is nevertheless probable that through the influence of the civil government and the two contrary religious establishments existing in our Island, we may be brought into closer communion with Protestants, and so separate ourselves further from other Christians. In the next, you show that there are nevertheless more favourable symptoms which may lead us to hope for better things; these hopes however being again dashed by other formidable evidences of a tendency towards Protestant communion. The good omens are two articles in the *Times* newspaper of Oct. 19 and Oct. 29, and two letters referring to them, together with the letters commendatory to the Eastern Bishops given by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to the Rev. G. Tomlinson. The bad omens are a story which you have heard of the conversion of a Roman lady by an English clergyman, further passages from Dr. McCaul's sermon, an extract from a document in your possession, and a *private letter addressed to the Chaplain of the Bishop of Jerusalem, in answer to a private letter written by him, and asking advice on questions of great delicacy.* The last section contains an encouraging announcement, grounded upon conversations of

your own with the Ober-Procuror to the Emperor of Russia, with the Chamberlain Mouravieff, and with a certain Russian Prince, that the Government of Russia will be likely to forward a communion between the English and Eastern Churches, if we will consent to anathematise Protestants and Protestantism. This is the whole of your case. I will make a few remarks upon the last witnesses you have called, and then wind up mine.

The passages, which you extract from two debates in Parliament, show that the Bishop of London and Sir Robert Inglis are of opinion that Protestants exist in the East, and that it is the duty of Government to protect them, seeing they are not protected by the Russian Government, or by the French. The question is one of fact—are there such persons? and one of policy—if there are, ought they to be left to the mercies of a Mahomedan Government? You know that there are Protestants in Syria, you know that they are not in communion either with the Roman or the Greek Church. Statesmen cannot pretend to ignore the existence of human beings, even if they be under your curse. Churchmen may say that they are not occupying a proper position; they have said so, and they have sent out a Bishop to give them what seems to us a proper position. They may be right or wrong. I have maintained in this letter that they are right; you may answer my arguments if you please but the debates in Parliament do not affect the matter in the slightest degree. They do not touch the question of Church organization, but simply the question of bodily existence. They speak of certain persons, and describe them according to the names by which they are most likely to be known. With respect to the sermon preached at the consecration, its value as a key to the intentions of the Bishop, must of course be determined by the actions of the Bishops themselves. If it says the same things which those acts say, why not appeal to the acts? If it says less or more, for that less or more the Bishops are not responsible; and how a sermon at Lambeth, preached by a gentleman who is known as perhaps the most accomplished Hebrew scholar and one of the most excellent and diligent clergymen, of his day, but who has, so far as I know, never received any favour from the Civil Government, and certainly has not the re-

motest connection with the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, can prove that their united influence is at work in the act for appointing and sending out a Bishop, I am not Cædipus enough to conjecture.

The act respecting the consecration of foreign Bishops, is certainly of some value as a point of evidence respecting the present relations of the Church with the Civil Government. It shows that the Bishops are anxious to use their influence in Parliament for the purpose of removing some of the impediments by which the State has hitherto crippled the government of the Church.

The advertisement respecting the Bishopric derives all its supposed mischief from these words—"A Bishop who is to reside in Jerusalem as a representative of the *Reformed Church*." The use of this phrase, *Reformed Church*, in a document possessing no formal or official character, but merely intended to state, in a loose and general way, the objects of the Bishopric, is supposed to involve the principle of uniting with unepiscopal congregations, and this, though the same document distinctly affirms, that the Bishop will only superintend the English Clergy, and such other Protestant bodies as may hereafter place themselves under his Episcopal authority, and be admitted into communion with his Church. I should be glad to know who are likely to attach an improper meaning to the words *Reformed Church*? Is it the persons to whom they are directly addressed? If they have ever heard such words before, it must be in the bidding prayer which is used at the Universities, and in many Churches and Chapels twice every Sunday before the sermon; wherein mention is made of Christ's Catholic Church, especially that Reformed part of it which is established in these realms. Or is it the Prussians? They would scarcely be able to affix any meaning to the phrase in this connection, because they apply it to Calvinistic bodies as contradistinguished from the Lutheran, and these they would of course know could not be intended. Hence it is obvious, that neither party can derive from the use of this phrase any particular light about the nature of the Bishopric, and the conditions under which it will exist. If the whole scheme of the Bishop-

ric be wrong, that phrase may import something wrong; but then the error must be made evident by other indications, not by treating an advertisement, as if it were a legal instrument.

With respect to the grounds of your hopeful and desponding thoughts of the future, I shall say but little. You may know better than I do whence the article in the Times, which you have quoted, proceeded, whose opinions it represents, whose opinions it was meant to influence: whose opinions it did actually influence. Unless I were cognizant of these points, I should not know how to draw an inference from it respecting the state of public feeling on this or on any other matter. I quite agree with you, that the letters of Anglo-Catholicus and Mr. Palmer of Worcester College, are most favourable symptoms of the tone of feeling which prevails among real High Churchmen; they are calm, dignified, and simple, and that especially which bears the weighty and honoured name of the author of the *Origines Liturgicæ*, removed in a very few words a number of difficulties which had been embarrassing the question in the minds of less instructed and considerate persons. I agree with you also, in considering the letters which were delivered to the Secretary of the Christian Knowledge Society by our Bishops, as a most favourable indication of the disposition which there is in the Rulers of the English Church to enter into fellowship with their brethren in Greece and Syria. How a testimony given so publicly and formally, can be balanced in your mind by a story which you have heard about the conversion of a Russian lady (the same, I presume, who did duty in the argument about the Evangelical re-action), by an English Clergyman at Geneva, and the omission of the Bishop of London to notice a letter which called upon him to explain the conduct of a person over whom he had, in all probability, no sort of controul, I am at a loss to conceive. All that I should infer from such a fact is, that it is a great pity for English Clergymen to go about the Continent reasoning with men and women, before they understand either what the position of these men and women is, or what their own is; and that it is very expedient for such Clergymen, both in the West and East, not to follow their vagrant fancies, but to be under the controul of some Bishop. With

respect to your last document, the letter addressed to the Chaplain of Bishop Alexander, I go all lengths with you in thinking it a very mournful sign indeed respecting the feelings of some Churchmen, and therefore respecting the state of the Church.

But I pass to a subject of far more importance. From what I said in my second letter, you will not suppose that I can have heard with any kind of surprise, upon what terms the Russian agents, who govern the Church in that country, would condescend to acknowledge the members of ours. I should wonder very much if the Imperial Government were to propose any scheme for "knitting

The knots of love and peace,
Throughout all Christian lands,"

save that of our agreeing with it to denounce a set of persons whose existence is very inconvenient to its power and to its prospects; and I should wonder still more, if the measure, which we are now considering, did not, as you say it will, tend to make almost hopeless that scheme of reconciliation. If I wanted any other ground for defending it, this would be sufficient. Though a Deacon of the English Church is not exactly a Plenipotentiary to conclude such a treaty; yet the fact that it could be proposed, and that an English Clergyman could be found to listen to it, may well make one tremble. The necessity of finding some other way of uniting ourselves to the Eastern Church besides that of leaguering ourselves with its oppressor—the duty of taking some other method of helping the Protestants of Germany to raise themselves out of their present inorganic condition, besides that of anathematizing them—does indeed become imperative, when such sounds are heard, though only in a whisper. And let me add, too, though my voice may never reach those for whom it is intended, that such indications ought not to be unheeded by the Protestants of Germany themselves, nor by the sovereigns who rule over them. In the first moment of just indignation they might be inclined to exclaim, 'What! shall we make ourselves like the subjects of a nation which affects to despise and curse us;' but the next thought would be a truer one, a more Christian one, and I will add, a more German and national one. It would be this—The main reason why

Russia is a despotism, is, that the Church within her has no breathing room, no free development :—If this end were once attained by her organization becoming instinct with a living spirit, that mighty country, in spite of its great disadvantages from the extent of its soil, and the paucity of its people, might become free and happy, might attain by degrees a constitutional government. In Germany there is spiritual life, but it is concentrated in a few ; in those few it is often turned to their own mischief, and to the mischief of the community ; it is not a diffused popular life, for there is not a Church organization ; and, therefore, in Germany too the State exercises a dangerous influence over the spiritual and moral energies of the Country, for there is no power to balance and sustain it. Such authority is perilous to the monarch who holds it, let him exercise it ever so wisely, because the sense in men's minds that the spiritual body ought not to be enslaved by the civil, will tempt them to unite themselves to some society which sets up the spiritual power *against* the civil. It is mischievous to those over whom he rules, let him exercise it ever so mildly, because where they have no free and safe expression for their spiritual feelings and life, they will be seeking unsafe expressions for them, or else be content to part with them altogether. Therefore, surely the interest of the monarch and of his subjects is the same. He must wish to part as soon as he can with the kind of power which was never intended for him ; they must be anxious to receive, as soon as they can, such institutions as will connect them with the whole of Christendom, and so at once check and uphold those prerogatives which belong to the head of their own peculiar nation.

This is the true condition of a constitutional monarchy, herein it differs from a military despotism. Now the King of Prussia in founding this Bishoprick at Jerusalem, has, it seems to me, given the first pledge and earnest of such a blessing to his own land. The hope may be disappointed ; if it be, then may Prussia well tremble at the papal influences in the midst of which she dwells, at the French propagandism which threatens her from the South, at the Muscovite barbarism which frowns upon her from the North.

But whether there be, or be not, a capacity in the Prussian nation for receiving this gift, we must not have to accuse ourselves of being the means of withholding it. We must be able to clear our consciences of the guilt of not having embraced every opportunity, of not having watched every indication of the will of Providence which might enable us to further so great a design. And as truly as it is written, ‘He delighted in cursings, therefore shall they come upon him,’ so truly is it written ‘He that watereth others, shall be watered himself.’ If we labour that our Protestant brethren may unite with us on Catholic principles, and for Catholic objects, we shall find out better than all doctors can teach us, what Catholicity is, how necessary it is to the support of Protestantism, how impossible it is that it can thrive without Protestantism. We shall not be put to the strange alternative of forsaking the steps of our fathers, in order that we may become more humble and reverent; we shall be able to abide in the Church of our own land, and yet to believe that THE Church belongs to no land, that our citizenship is in the Heavens.

I have now, Sir, met your challenge and considered your arguments, and I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your obedient servant,

F. M.

POSTSCRIPT.

ON A THIRD PAMPHLET BY MR. PALMER.

SINCE the foregoing sheets were sent to the press, I have met with your *third* pamphlet, which is an answer to a letter in the Oxford University Herald, signed 'A Protestant Catholic.'

The writer of the letter thinks it seems as I do, and as most Englishmen do, that our Church is both Protestant and Catholic. He asks the supporters of ultra-Protestantism, whether they would wish to substitute the word Protestant for Catholic in the Creed, and you, whether you acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, &c. Assuming that the answer to each of these questions would be in the negative, he concludes that the double character of the Church is generally acknowledged, and that whatever you or your opponents may pretend, neither of you would really wish that she should lose it.

Your answer is threefold. In the first place you affirm that a true Protestant, though he may use the word Catholic, affixes to it a sense of his own, that he regards it as a synonyme of Universal, and means by it an aggregate of sects. Secondly, you say, that if the writer of the letter gives to Protestantism any other signification than that in which it is synonymous with the right of making a creed for ourselves, that signification is an unusual and a delusive one, one which might apply to the

Greeks, who anathematize Lutherans and Protestants. Thirdly, you declare in the following sentence what your own doctrine respecting the supremacy of the Pope is:—

“If the Sovereigns of England, who in past time violently took away from the Pope that jurisdiction which, whether rightly or wrongly, he had acquired over our Church, were now in the same manner to restore, or even increase it, and our Church submitted as she submitted at the first, I would just as freely submit to it as I submit to any other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction: nay, further, I think that if other differences could be settled, it would be unworthy of Christian Bishops to dispute unnecessarily about jurisdiction, and that the State ought also to make some amends for the violence it then used.

“On the other hand, I do not believe that the jurisdiction which was taken away from the Pope was of Divine right, nor even according to the spirit of the Œcumenical Canons, nor safe for the Church at large; nor do I believe that the definition of the visible Church is necessarily limited by practical obedience to Rome; nor that the Bishop or Church of Rome, or any given Council of Bishops, are to be viewed as in themselves and strictly speaking infallible antecedently to the reception of their decrees by the Church at large.”

The rest of the letter is taken up with some remarks upon transubstantiation, the Council of Trent, the parish in which you were born, and your visit to the Continent in the summer of 1833. To these topics I shall not advert; upon those which concern my subject and my readers, I will make a few observations.

1. I am not the least concerned to defend the substitution of the word Universal for Catholic. I think a Greek word is more expressive than a Latin one, and perhaps there is more of the feeling of wholeness or entireness conveyed by the one than by the other. Nevertheless, I believe the word Universal, rightly understood, necessarily involves this meaning, and is incompatible with the notion of a mere collection of atoms. I should not therefore think that the sects had gained much, if they could

secure this alteration. You, I confess, would gain much for your purposes, if you could contrive, as you seem to wish, to translate the word Catholic, by Exclusive or Dogmatic. But as I do not at present see the etymological or theological warrant for that version, I shall continue to mean by the phrase "Catholic Church" the very largest fellowship which there can be in this world, according to the scheme of God and the constitution of Man, a fellowship not subsisting in dogmas, but in a person. And I believe that not only the whole body of the Fathers, but every recognized formulary of the Eastern or the Western Church will support me in that position.

2. The definition which, I believe, is given of a 'Protestant' in all dictionaries—that which suggests itself immediately to all who have not been told of some other—that which is recognized as the true one on the Continent as well as in England, and has been so recognized for the last three hundred years is—One who protests or bears witness against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. I do not care whether the Greeks call themselves Protestants or not; they are Protestants to all intents and purposes, and because they are so, I see the greatest hope of our being able to unite with them in Catholic fellowship. In a passage which you quote from the Canons of the Synod of Bethlehem, Christ is expressly affirmed to be the head of the Church in a sense which excludes the supremacy of a mortal Bishop. This is Protestantism; if that name is to designate all the fruits which Protestantism has, or which you suppose it has, produced, then must the word Romanism designate in our vocabulary, all the fruits which it has, or which we suppose it has, produced. I am well convinced that the Jesuitism of the last two centuries is quite as legitimate a progeny of Romanism as Rationalism is of Protestantism, and that the French Infidelity of the last century was the legitimate progeny of this Jesuitism; yet I do not imagine that Jesuitism and Infidelity are to enter into the definition of Romanism, or that I have a right to hold any Romanist as such responsible for either.

3. But the important point is, your view of the Pope's supremacy. I do not mean important in any other sense than this, that it brings the difference between us into the clearest

light, and shews that my meaning of the word Protestant is not a fanciful one, or an obsolete one. When you are using negative language, when you are denouncing others and separating from others, no one can accuse you of compromise. But the moment you begin to take a positive ground there is a practical feebleness and inconsistency in your statements, which, if what I have said in the former part of my pamphlet be true, this age will not bear. For I have maintained that if there be a Catholic Church, that Church must have a centre. Either the Pope is that centre, or, in assuming to be so he commits the most awful intrusion upon the prerogatives of Christ. Either the existence of a Pope is the necessary condition of the being of a Church, or else it turns the Church into a contradiction. Either we ought to do him homage, not in the half way which you propose, but simply, unreservedly, absolutely, or else the Western Church will never be pure, never truly at one with itself, never at one with the Eastern, till it disclaims the Pope in any other character than as the Bishop of his own Roman Diocese. I said in my first letter, that the question was rapidly coming to this issue, and that furious denunciations either against Romanists or Protestants, would not help to settle it in the least. I alluded almost at hazard to a well known Fellow of your College as a person on whom such language, against whomsoever it was directed, would produce no other effect than that of making him more disgusted with the English Church, and as one who, I supposed, was greatly moved to leave it by the desire of discovering a centre of unity. The words were scarcely printed when I met with a letter, entitled, "Some answer to the question 'Why are you become a Catholic?'" by R. W. Sibthorp, B. D.* It is written, as I was sure anything by him must be written, in a most kindly, genial, Christian spirit. It contains no anathemas; he evidently thinks that he is entering into a region of pure meekness and charity; but above all, every word in his pamphlet shews that what he needed was a Centre of Unity, that to obtain this was his object in submitting to the See of Rome. It would be most foolish to treat his arguments contemptuously, as the utterances

* Charles Dolman, 62, New Bond Street.

of an 'imaginative, impatient, or ill-informed mind.' They are ingenious arguments, clearly and eloquently expressed. They are such as I believe it will be very difficult for any one to meet who does not see that the existence of the Church depends upon the acknowledgment of the Son of God as the Universal Bishop of it; that every step of the Jewish economy was leading to the revelation of Him as the substitute for the earthly High Priest; that in Him all orders are constituted; that the Succession and Consecration of Bishops are the witnesses of His permanent and present Government; that the CATHOLIC CHURCH, which is grounded upon that Confession, and the ROMISH SYSTEM, which is grounded upon the denial of it, can never cease to be in conflict till the one or the other is overthrown.

APPENDIX.

 LEGAL OBJECTIONS TO THE BISHOPRIC.

SINCE I commenced my reply to Mr. Palmer, a pamphlet has fallen into my hands entitled, "The Bishopric of the united Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, considered in a Letter to a Friend, by James R. Hope, B.C.L., Scholar of Merton, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury."

The objections to the measure which are raised in this pamphlet turn, like those of Mr. Palmer, on the difficulty and inconsistency of an alliance between English Churchmen and foreign Protestants; and the main staff of them both is the Prussian State Paper. But I need scarcely say to any one who has heard Mr. Hope's name, that his letter is as remarkable for temper and moderation, as for ability and legal learning. It must therefore make an impression upon the public mind, which Mr. Palmer's "Aids to Reflection" can never make. It will be appealed to as perfectly conclusive and irresistible by those who have arrived through a process of reasoning entirely different from his, and without any of his canonical wisdom, at the same conclusion; and it will stagger many who from zeal and love, rather than from reflection, have adopted the opposite one.

I conceive that I should be showing great diffidence of the cause I have undertaken to plead, as well as practical dishonesty, if I shrunk from noticing what is by far the ablest statement which has yet appeared, or is likely to appear, of the reasons on

the other side. At the same time it is equally certain, that I should be guilty of great presumption, if I ventured to enter the lists with an accomplished English and Ecclesiastical lawyer upon his own ground.

The questions which I felt that I was obliged to ask myself when I read Mr. Hope's pamphlet were these two: 1, How far do these positions, supposing them to be true, affect the principles upon which I have hitherto rested my approbation of the measure? And 2, Supposing they do not affect those principles, what degree of weight ought I nevertheless to assign to them?

The answers to which I arrived when I had considered these questions, I will now briefly set down, hoping that in doing so, I shall not be tempted to say one word which would seem like disrespect to the author of the letter, or to go one step beyond the province within which, as one in all legal matters *plane hospes*, I ought to confine myself.

The main doctrine of Mr. Hope's pamphlet is, if I understand him, this — The position of Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem is an anomalous and contradictory one. He is sent out as a Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland. He is (at least till communion can be renewed with the Eastern Church) a Suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But then he is to have something to do with certain Prussian or Protestant congregations. What will he have to do with them? Will he acknowledge them as existing independently of him, as constituting another Church? He cannot do that, for he has no business to recognize them as a Church at all, except they are governed by a Bishop. Suppose him to take any such step as this, he practically renounces his own character, and makes all his acts invalid. Or, will he merely adopt these congregations into his own, so that they shall form a part of the Church of England and Ireland, receiving each member separately into communion with him, just as if they were not separate congregations at all? Suppose him to do this, and suppose him to require (which in that case he must require) that each person who is admitted to communion, shall pass through the previous stages which are demanded of the communicant in

England, and that every minister shall be episcopally ordained, shall sign the thirty-nine articles, and shall use our liturgy, what then becomes of all that the Government of Prussia has said in the State Paper about the acknowledgment of the distinct rights and constitutions of the two national Churches? One way or other there must be a delusion; either it is a mere pretence that the Bishop is a Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland, or else the agreement between the King of Prussia and the English Bishops is a mere pretence.

This, I believe, is a fair statement of Mr. Hope's meaning: if I have in any wise perverted it, the error is unintentional, and I shall be glad to correct myself.

Now let me recapitulate shortly the principles which I have endeavoured to maintain in my Letters to Mr. Palmer. I have endeavoured to show, that there are some Catholic elements in the constitution of our English Church, which are distinct from its national elements: That these Catholic elements must by their very nature be the grounds of communion with other Christian bodies: That the national elements can never form the basis of communion: That these are necessary to our own existence, but that it is a plain Catholic duty not to enforce them upon others: That these considerations, which ought never to be lost sight of at any time, are especially necessary for our time, when the main subject which occupies us is, What are the grounds of Catholic unity? How can we upon those grounds establish an actual communion with those who have been separated from us?

Thus far, except in one particular, my views accord exactly with those of the persons who are likely most to oppose this Bishopric. Those who wish for communion with Rome, expressly wish for it as a means of carrying out the Catholic elements in our Constitution; they say that that which is purely national, is not to stand in the way of such a communion; that nearly all which is so savours of Protestantism. They only differ with me in thinking that what is national ought to be discarded altogether.

Next I have maintained that the constitution of the Church rests upon the Incarnation of our Lord, and upon the acknow-

ledgment that the whole body lives and is constituted in Him ; that this truth is practically set aside by Romanism ; that the constitution of the Church is therefore violated by Romanism ; that its Catholicity is violated by Romanism, and that neither can be restored, unless there are bodies which bear a direct and steady protest against the violation. In this set of propositions I am altogether at war with the persons to whom I have just alluded. They desire a visible centre for Christendom ; they believe that a protest against such a centre is not the assertion of Catholicity, but the denial of it.

Next I have contended that the Church of England is bound to seek for fellowship with the Churches subject to the Roman Pontiff, with the Eastern Churches, and, in the comprehensive words of Mr. Palmer's dedication, "with all every where who only so much as name the name of Christ," provided it can be done without the sacrifice of that Catholic constitution which has been given us to defend, and on the preservation of which all hopes of unity depend ; that we must sacrifice our Catholic constitution, if we acknowledge in any sense the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome—if we treat with the Emperor of Russia as if he were the Head of the Eastern Church—if we meet Lutherans or Calvinists merely on the footing of their individual faith or opinion, or their common dislike to some third party, which must be our bond of alliance with them if we give up the principle of episcopacy ; that there is no obstacle to union with any Church of the West which gives up its subjection to the Pope, and meets us on the footing of our constitution in Christ—no obstacle to our union with the Eastern Church, when it comes forth in the persons of its Bishops to ask fellowship with us, or to receive it when it is offered—no obstacle to communion with the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, if they, starting from the great Church principle, which we hold in common with them, of Christ's Kingship or Headship over the Church, are willing to express it, not in words or professions, but in the act of submitting to an Episcopal Government. As these conclusions follow from the former, they are of course rejected by the same persons who reject them ; rejected upon this ground, that the Protestants

have, and the Romanists have not, violated the principles and order of the Church Universal.

Finally, I have maintained that the Bishops of the English Church could not consistently with their Catholic character, reject any offer of fellowship from any of these bodies, provided it came before them in a way which involved no compromise of Catholic principles; that the proposal for founding a Bishopric at Jerusalem does not involve any such compromise; that in founding it, our Bishops unite with the subjects of the King of Prussia, upon the Church principle which is common to us and them, of recognizing Christ's Headship of the Church; and that they do consent to express this principle as we express it, in the acknowledgment of a Bishop; that the proposition comes before us in the most legitimate way, proceeding from a King, whose vocation we acknowledge to be legitimate, and not from religious ministers, who have no organ through whom they can speak to us; that therefore all the obligations to dispense with national rules and maxims, for the sake of establishing communion, which were laid down generally before, apply to this emergency. To these last opinions the same persons who objected to the propositions before laid down, must necessarily object, because they are the regular and natural deductions from them.

Now I do not at all say that I have made these points, or any one of them, good; I do not say that Mr. Hope, or a person of very much less ability than Mr. Hope, may not be able to confute them. But I do say, that such as they are, they are not in the least affected by those arguments which he has put forward in his letter.

His objections turn upon points where National and Catholic jurisprudence touch upon each other; upon the position in which a Bishop of the National English Church stands in reference to certain Canons of that Church; upon the rules which, according to those Canons, must govern his intercourse with foreign Protestants; upon the kind of terms which he must exact from those Protestants, before he can consent to let them be accounted members of the English Church; upon the impossibility of their being accounted members of any body, ex-

cept the English Church, provided they are in relation with him. All these points may be of great value and significance, but it will be a great and serious mistake, if any person goes away with the impression that they are Catholic principles, or have anything to do with Catholic principles. Of course, with infinitely less ingenuity than he has displayed in this pamphlet Mr. Hope could have proved to persons who are thinking of a negotiation with Rome, that they would violate both the civil and ecclesiastical maxims of English jurisprudence; that they would transgress Canons as well as incur premunires. Their immediate answer would be, 'We know it; we have counted the cost; we are Catholics; for your Anglican and your Protestant rules we care nothing at all.' I use no such language, but I have a right to call upon those who shall hereafter speak of Mr. Hope's letter as a great defence of Catholic principles against the wicked projects of Protestant Bishops or Diplomats, to take heed what they say. Mr. Hope is appealing to the very arguments which they set at nought. He may be using them only as clever argumenta ad hominem, because he thinks these are the only reasons a mere Protestant can understand, in which case we may, if we please, decline to be tried in the lower court, and appeal to the higher one. But, at all events, our opponents will not allow these reasons to have any weight with themselves, and therefore, they cannot refer to them as quite decisive against others.

But secondly, I wish to inquire how far these arguments of Mr. Hope's, supposing them to leave the principles of the case just where they were, ought to have weight in determining the question, and proving the measure a wrong or an inexpedient one. In order to ascertain this point satisfactorily, let it be clearly and distinctly remembered that there is not, and cannot be, an intention on the part of those who are concerned in this measure to recognize bodies which have not a Bishop, as ecclesiastically constituted. I have pressed this point again and again in my letter to Mr. Palmer. I should scarcely think it necessary to repeat it in contending with a person so clear-sighted and acute as Mr. Hope, if it were not quite evident from his whole letter that this dream or phantasy has in spite of his better judgment been floating before him;—I say in spite of

his better judgment, for my own conclusions on the subject are formed from the facts of the case as they lie before me. A more strange and preposterous method of bringing the English Church into the false position of sanctioning the unepiscopal constitution than that of submitting Protestant congregations hitherto unepiscopal to the authority of a Bishop, and causing ministers hitherto without episcopal ordination to be ordained by a Bishop, was certainly never devised by the wit of man.

Again; let it be observed, that the application to Bishop Alexander, of the words 'Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland,' is itself a concession, a very remarkable concession, to the Episcopal principle; one which I contend we had no right to exact, and which it shows the perfectly good faith of the negociators on the other side, that they were willing to make. We do not want, we have no right to desire the extension of the English Church into Syria. We have, as I have contended before, a right to wish that there should be a body in Syria protesting for the Catholic principle of union in Christ against the principle of a visible unity, to which the Romanists voluntarily, the Greeks involuntarily, have submitted—protesting for this principle, before Mahomedans and Jews; in the hope that by so doing we may make the Greeks sensible of the dignity of their position, and may, not by efforts at conversion, but by the silent influence of a true, beside a pseudo-catholicism, emancipate also the subjects of the Pope. This was upon the principles I have put forward, a most reasonable, most godly, most Catholic desire. Nevertheless, as to the form of it, this natural wish is abandoned. The English, precisely because it is an Episcopally constituted Church, is invested by the consent of Prussia with a dignity to which, properly and strictly speaking, we can put in no claim. As a nation we have no business to grasp at this honour; but it is granted to us on purpose that church order may be preserved; on purpose that there may be no appearance of setting up Protestantism as an exclusive, denying thing; on purpose that the Bishop may have a distinct and recognized sphere for his labour; on purpose that he may be seen not to intrude on the province of the Greek Patriarch; on purpose that the Greeks may feel that Protestants, who, as they supposed, have

thrown aside Bishops altogether, can and will only speak to them through a Bishop. To compass these high ends, the King of Prussia puts to an apparent hazard, the very principle which he as a monarch is bound to contend for,—the distinctness and independence of his nation,—its right as a nation not to be governed by those ecclesiastical rules and maxims which merely belong to our national church, and not to our church as part of the Catholic body. He puts this principle apparently to hazard because he knows that if we are sincere in our professions, as he gives us credit for being—if we are true Catholics as we boast of being—if we are not merely putting forth the pretence of Catholicism for the sake of magnifying and glorifying our own Anglicanism—we must wish as much as he does, that the German Church should be distinct from the English Church, and that both should be united in the common bond of a Divine Head, and of Catholic institutions.

Now this being the state of things, Mr. Hope comes forward and tells us that he has discovered a flaw in the position of Bishop Alexander, that he must stumble either to the right or to the left, that he must be either very speedily removed by the English Church on the one hand or utterly disavowed by the Prussian monarch on the other. We ask, On what ground? and the answer is; this is necessary by the canons of the Church which has sent out Bishop Alexander—canons which he has sworn to obey. I wish to know whether Mr. Hope is ready to carry out this principle of literal obedience to canons and statutes in all cases? Is he prepared to say, for instance, that every Fellow of a college, *ipso facto*, ceases to be the member of a college when he commits a literal or formal violation of its statutes? No one knows better than he does what the effect of such a doctrine would be. No one knows better than he, perhaps no one knows as well, how triumphantly that doctrine has been and may be refuted. ‘In the first place,’ say the University authorities upon this subject, ‘it is not wise to alter the letter of statutes formed in another age, because that letter embodies a spirit by which we ought to be governed; secondly, the very existence of college authorities, and of a visitor, implies a dispensing power as to cases which are ob-

viously and necessarily affected by the change of age and circumstances, even as they are meant to ensure permanence to those principles and ordinances which belong to no time ; thirdly, every man is answerable to God by the oaths which he takes for acting up to the meaning and intent, as far as he can perceive it, of those to whom he owes his position and support, but he is absolved by that very appeal to the Searcher of hearts from doing acts, however apparently—in the sight of men—required by his professions, which would really interfere with the right and useful performance of them.’ I do not know enough of the history and particular circumstances of colleges to say how strictly those principles can be brought to bear upon them, but that they are on the whole sound moral principles, far above the suspicion of casuistical evasion, I make no doubt. Moreover, these principles have been considered in all ages as characteristically church principles. I do not say that there has not been a danger of their being perverted into the establishment of a peculiar morality for clerks distinct from that which binds laymen ; just so far as this has been the case they have been applied mischievously. Nor do I say that there is not a set of persons whose mere business it is to enforce the letter, at all risks and hazards. But I do mean that it has been a sacred feeling in the minds of churchmen, that *they* were sent into the world for the express purpose of asserting the sense of the law against those who would exalt customs and maxims in opposition to it. Hear how one of them speaks in the 12th century. The passage has reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and it is written by the chosen friend and companion of Becket. “Item,” he says, “Nusquam invenitur Dominus dixisse, Ego sum consuetudo sed dicit Ego sum Veritas. Item, consuetudinis ususve longævi non tanta est auctoritas ut aut rationem vincat ut ait Imperator Paganus aut legem. Immo revelatione factâ æquitatis et veritatis cedat Usus Rationi, ut in decretis scripserunt sancti patres quorum ergo contra rationem et ecclesiasticam libertatem statuit et scripsit Rex Christianus.” *

Perhaps Mr. Hope may say that these remarks only apply to

* Vita Sancti Thomæ Cantuarensis, a W. Stephanide Conscripta, p. 35, Ed. Sparke.

the customs and laws of a country, not to the decrees of the Church itself. Now I apprehend that the acts of the first Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, must possess as much sacredness as those of any council which ever sat. Yet three out of four of the decisions of that council have never been considered binding upon any set of persons, except those to whom they were immediately addressed. By putting an actual moral delinquency in the same category with a set of positive rules belonging to the condition of the newly-converted heathen, the apostles shewed that the transgression of those rules would have been a real sin, because it would have been a violation of obedience to the heads of the Church, and a breach of its unity. By giving the reasons of their judgment, and the circumstances which called it forth, they themselves restricted the application of their maxims. By transmitting the reasons, the circumstances, and the maxims, to us, they endowed us with a precious legacy, immeasurably more valuable as the guide of the conduct of the Church, in different times and emergencies than any rules which would tie up its freedom could possibly be. Happily, the circumstances under which canons were made, and even the discussions in many of the other councils, are preserved to us, so that we have no excuse for not deriving from them similar lessons; no excuse for lowering them to the standard of the decisions in an ordinary court of law. And though lawyers may sometimes use alarming words, to frighten us ignorant and vagrant Churchmen, about the necessity of adhering to the letter of statutes and precedents, yet we are not so entirely uninformed respecting the history of their own proceedings, as not to know that the highest specimens of judicial wisdom which exist, are not of this servile kind. Mr. Bentham used to speak of the law of England, as ‘judge-made law,’ because it was not derived from a code, but was in great part the result of the meditations of learned men, upon the laws and customs of former days, and upon the precedents of their predecessors. In these meditations they endeavoured to discover a principle and a meaning which might rule their own opinions, in the ever-varying cases that from time to time offered themselves. If we are not to be Benthamites in civil matters, we certainly will not be so in ecclesiastical. It was the

higher reason that governed in this department, which the men of laws and letters have imitated in theirs. If we cease to present them with a model of that higher reason, and ignominiously stoop to take our lessons from them, they will suffer as much as we shall.

The result of these remarks is, that if the principles which I have contended for in the earlier part of this pamphlet be true, it would have been a sin in the Bishops of our Church to let these canonical objections hinder them from embracing an opportunity, not sought for by them, but offering itself to them most unexpectedly, of promoting Catholic unity, and advancing Catholic principles. And that it will be a sin in us, if we allow these canonical objections, supposing no higher and stronger reasons can be produced, to hinder us from giving God thanks for what has been done, and from labouring, so far as in us lies, that it may not have been done in vain. I do not mean to say that in addition to all the outward perils, and inward temptations, of Bishop Alexander's position, he must not expect that he will be exposed to peculiar difficulties, from the relation in which he stands to Germany, as well as to England. It is quite right that he should know, that questions of the greatest delicacy will be continually presenting themselves to him; that if he decides them one way, he may be exposed to the censures of critics in England; if in another, to the censures of critics in Prussia. To steer a clear course amid such quicksands—to know what acts would indicate merely a slavish deference to opinion—what acts must be performed or omitted, in order to preserve a principle—to be really cautious, and yet to avoid that most dangerous caution, which is only another name for cowardice and inactivity—to remember continually that he is sent out as a Bishop of the English Church, but yet for the purpose of maintaining a ground upon which all nations may meet; for this he will unquestionably need continual supplies of the Spirit of grace and of wisdom. No measures of human sagacity will avail in such circumstances—thorough simplicity, singleness of heart, dependence upon God, I trust will. But then it seems to me, that we at home should cultivate the same habits of mind, that we should be endeavouring to keep great objects in

sight, to assure ourselves of the ground on which we stand, and then be ready to pursue the one, and to maintain the other, without caring what names we bear, or what legal and logical formulas we set aside and trample upon.

There is one other passage in Mr. Hope's pamphlet which I wish to notice. He complains that this measure has been carried into effect by only two or three Bishops, with the concurrence of those who were met at convocation, and he wishes that it had been submitted to 'a conclave of Canonists,' or at least to 'free discussion.' A conclave of Canonists! Yes, if it be our duty to furnish Dr. Wiseman with a new chapter in his book on the sterility of our Missions; if it be our bounden duty to prove how little we have in common with the Gregories, and Augustines, and Bonifaces, of other days; if those who have been in past time the hinderers of every godly enterprise, by their endless quibbles and altercations, are to be the only promoters of them now—such an expedient would have been most desirable. But let not Mr. Hope suppose that any such grave body will be called to deliberate upon the proceedings of those who take the opposite course to that which I have recommended. Those who shake off their allegiance to the English Church, and determine upon an alliance with Rome, will not act under the direction of a conclave of Canonists. They (just as much as we) will make light of mere verbal difficulties, and inconsistencies, in the pursuit of an end which they have satisfied themselves is a right one. They (just as much as we) will talk of acting upon faith and confidence, and of the necessity of not being checked by mere formalities. Therefore, it must come at last to that point to which I wish that it should come at first—What is the right end? What is the most simple and Catholic method of attaining it?

But Mr. Hope thinks that something might have been gained by free discussion, as well as by the advice of Canonists, by the wisdom of this age, as well as by the wisdom of the past. I am afraid I shall seem very captious when I say, that the one notion seems to me as much a dream as the other. What indications were there in this case, that free discussion was possible, or that the discussion which was set on foot was likely to bear

any good fruits? What could be gained in a great and delicate question of theological politics, into which every form of violent partizanship and mischievous diplomacy might intrude itself, by articles in newspapers, tending to excite Englishmen, perplex Germans, and alienate Greeks? What blessing could be looked for from the accomplishment or the rejection of a scheme, which had been brought to pass through the agency of leading articles, or defeated by the publication of some insulting attack upon a friendly nation, or upon our own Ecclesiastical Rulers? Surely, those who give thanks for this measure, as proceeding from the providence of God and not the wisdom of man, as giving simultaneous expression to principles which had seemed to contradict each other, as holding forth the promise of most blessed results to Christians of the East and West, to Mahomedans, and to Jews, may be permitted to rejoice in this as one of its additional excellencies, that the agents in it have not been the mob, the press, or even the Senate; but those to whom God has committed the guidance of His Church in England, those to whom He has committed the guidance of a great nation abroad, upon each of whom we believe that he will, for the honour of his own ordinances, in a day when they are despised, bestow the spirit of counsel, and of wisdom, and of the fear of the Lord.*

* One remark in Mr. Hope's letter is worthy of all attention. He thinks that he has observed in some of the promoters of the new Bishopric a tendency to substitute the Old Jerusalem for the New; to think that the ancient City of God may become, and ought to become, that, which the City on the Seven Hills has been, and ought not to have been. I also have observed this tendency and lamented it. Certainly the craving for a local, visible centre, must be very deeply rooted in our carnal nature, as deeply as the craving for a real, divine centre, whereof it is the counterfeit, is rooted in our inner man. It is always ready to exhibit itself; such a measure as this is very likely to have called it forth and given it momentary strength. But I believe the faithful and earnest study of Jewish History is the best corrective of the evil effects which the partial study of it produces. The Jews fell because they exalted their nation in itself, and not in its king; and because they could not believe that all nations were to be gathered into his fold. If they are restored, these sins must be repented of and forsaken; those, therefore, who are most anxious for their restoration, should be most careful by no acts or words to encourage them. The consecration of a Jewish Bishop, rightly considered, is the best possible witness against them; for the Institution of Episcopacy, however it may have been perverted, is a strong and practical declaration that the Church is not local but universal.

H. W. MARTIN,
BARTLETT'S BUILDINGS, HOLBORN,
LONDON.

John E. Taylor

THE
PRINCIPLES AND PURSUITS
OF AN
ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;
EXEMPLIFIED IN A
SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS
OF
DR. JOHN TAYLOR
OF NORWICH:
INCLUDING THE SERMON PREACHED BY HIM IN 1756 AT THE OPENING
OF THE NEW PRESBYTERIAN CHAPEL IN THAT CITY.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
PUBLISHED BY T. CADELL, 141, STRAND.

1843.

THE
PRINCIPLES AND PURSUITS
OF AN
ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE
PRINCIPLES AND PURSUITS
OF AN
ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;
EXEMPLIFIED IN A
SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS
OF
DR. JOHN TAYLOR
OF NORWICH:
INCLUDING THE SERMON PREACHED BY HIM IN 1756 AT THE OPENING
OF THE NEW PRESBYTERIAN CHAPEL IN THAT CITY.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
PUBLISHED BY T. CADELL, 141, STRAND.

1843.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHILE the principles and habits of the body of English Presbyterians during the last century have, from recent circumstances, become the subject of much discussion as well as legal controversy, it will be easily imagined that their descendants cannot be unconcerned spectators of the struggle. And it has occurred to us, who are all the surviving great-grandsons of Dr. John Taylor bearing his name (one excepted, who is a resident in Philadelphia), that a reprint of some portions of his published works, together with some documents in our possession, might not be inopportune. These will serve as a brief epitome of the life, principles, pursuits and labours of a Presbyterian Minister during a considerable portion of the last century.

It will be seen that the Certificate of the Ordination of our Ancestor by the Dissenting Ministers of the county of Derby in 1716, refers to his "life and conversation" and his "proficiency in his studies," but not at all to his opinions on points of belief. And the Questions put to him, as well as his Answers, will be found to be in accordance with the principles

and practices of the English Presbyterians. No subscription to a creed was demanded, and none was given. He is not required to state his opinion on controverted points ; and the view taken of the Protestant religion in one of the Answers is, that it “ regulates itself entirely according to God’s word,” so that it “ is, or should be, the true primitive Christian religion.” The views of the Ordaining Ministers may fairly be considered as those which had prevailed in the latter half of the preceding [17th] century among the body to which they belonged.

With regard to **POPERY**, he viewed its essential and characteristic deformity as consisting, not in errors of doctrine, to which all churches, as well as that of Rome, may be more or less liable, but in the assumption of infallibility, the suppression of inquiry, and the exercise of persecution : and in his earliest work, “ A Defence of the Common Rights of Christians,” occasioned by a persecution raised in a Dissenting congregation on the doctrine of the Trinity, and from which some short extracts are given in the **APPENDIX**, he characterizes and reprobates not only Romish Popery, but Protestant Popery, and Dissenting Popery.

In 1733 he settled at Norwich, where his congregation erected in 1756, on the site of the former chapel, the present spacious and beautiful edifice. The cost was defrayed by his stated and occasional hearers ; and among the contributors were several members of the Church of England. Dr. Taylor laid

the first stone of the building, and he opened it with the Sermon which is now reprinted, and which will serve to illustrate his character as a Christian minister, as a member of society, and an English subject. The same spirit which appears at the outset of his ministerial career breathes in every page of this Sermon.

During his residence at Norwich he published all the works which have established his fame as a biblical critic, and among these his Paraphrase and Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The Dedication to this work, now reprinted, will exhibit the sort of connection which existed between an English Presbyterian minister of that time and his people.

At Norwich Dr. Taylor also published his celebrated Hebrew Concordance, a work to which he devoted fourteen years of his life, and among the subscribers to which appear the names of the two English Archbishops (Dr. Herring and Dr. Hutton), all the English and Welsh Bishops except four, four Irish Archbishops, and eleven Irish Bishops.

The value attached to his judgement by such distinguished men as Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Thomas Hunt, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and Dr. Kennicott, may be inferred from their having given extracts from his letters to them upon the subjects treated of in their works, as adding a degree of sanction to their publication:—See Bishop Law's

“Theory of Religion ;” and Professor Hunt’s “Observations on several Passages in the Book of Proverbs, &c.” edited in part by Dr. Kennicott.

The estimation in which he was held by that dignity of the church with whom his intercourse was the most frequent, will appear by the following letter, written after his removal to Warrington,—one of several from Bishop Hayter in the possession of his descendants :—

“To the Reverend Dr. Taylor, at Warrington in Lancashire.

“GOOD DOCTOR,

“I hope the MS. which was sent from hence in six parcels by Tuesday’s post came safe to you*. I thank you much for the pleasure and satisfaction it gave me in the perusal. You have stated the true foundation of moral obligation with more force and clearness than any writer upon that subject within the compass of my reading ; and I am ashamed to own to you how many of them I have read. You have employed your time to much better purpose in thinking upon it and thoroughly digesting it in your own mind, without regarding the different schemes of others, which have strangely perplexed this plain, fundamental question. But though I perfectly agree with you in the *principle* on which the whole turns, some of the consequences which you deduce from it stick a little with me, particularly in the chapters of VIRTUE and HAPPINESS ; and the intention I had of proposing some of my doubts to your consideration was the reason of my keeping your MS. so much longer than I ought to have done . . .

* This was the MS. of a work which Dr. Taylor published in 1760 under the following title : A Sketch of Moral Philosophy, or an Essay to demonstrate the Principles of Virtue and Religion upon a new, natural, and easy plan.

..... Dr. Atwell* left me a few days before the arrival of your MS. He charged me when I writ next to you to present his hearty services to you. I sincerely wish you success in all your endeavours to promote the cause of religion, virtue, and useful knowledge, and am,

“ Good Doctor,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ Norwich, Nov. 11, 1758.”

“ THO. NORWICH.”

“ P.S. Mr. Greet left me to go to his Living about a month ago ; he is much obliged to you for the favourable opinion you entertain of his abilities.”

In 1757 Dr. Taylor removed to Warrington, at the earnest solicitation of the trustees of the Academy there ; and the Charge to his pupils as Divinity Tutor, with which he always prefaced his lectures, will exemplify his character in that station. The Diploma conferring on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, brought to him from Glasgow by the hands of the reverend Principal Leechman, and signed by several distinguished names, is remarkable for the terms in which it is expressed, as showing the liberal spirit which then prevailed in that University. Among the merits for which the honour was bestowed, it enumerates his “ *ingenium vere liberum, et in nullius sectæ verba jurare addictum.*”

He died at Warrington in 1761.

Entirely concurring in the principles of our ancestor, we venture to think that these, as well as the spirit,

* Chancellor of Norwich and Prebendary of Gloucester.

temper and pursuits of the English Presbyterian Ministers of the age in which he lived, will not be unaptly illustrated in the life, conduct and labours of Dr. John Taylor.

PHILIP MEADOWS TAYLOR.

JOHN TAYLOR.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

EDWARD TAYLOR.

PHILIP TAYLOR.

ARTHUR TAYLOR.

THOMAS LOMBE TAYLOR.

SAMUEL TAYLOR.

HENRY TAYLOR.

May 12, 1843.

*The Glory of any House erected for Public Worship,
and the true Principles, religious, civil and social, of
Protestant Dissenters :*

REPRESENTED

IN

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

OPENING OF THE NEW CHAPPEL

IN

ST. GEORGE'S OF COLGATE

IN NORWICH.

MAY the 12th, 1756.

By JOHN TAYLOR, D.D.

LONDON: PRINTED 1756.

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

OPENING OF THE NEW CHAPPEL

IN NORWICH,

May the 12th, 1756.

HAGGAI ii. 8, 9.

“The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The Glory of this latter House shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts; and, or for, in this Place will I give Peace, saith the Lord of hosts.”

THE former house was Solomon's temple, which was most sumptuously adorned with silver and gold, far beyond the latter house, which the Jews in poor and weak circumstances were then building, after their return from the Babylonish captivity; and which was nothing in comparison of Solomon's temple, in the eyes of those ancient persons, who had seen that temple in all its splendour and magnificence: *Ver. 3.* “Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do you see it now? is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing?” Nevertheless, God was pleased to excite and encourage them by his prophet Haggai to proceed with vigour in the building: *Ver. 4.* “Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I

am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." But besides the favourable presence of God with them, he gives another encouragement, such indeed as only the spirit of prophecy could give ; namely, that God would *shake all nations*, or make a surprising alteration among them, by sending the Messiah, *the desire of all nations* (ver. 7.), that glorious Personage, who should introduce into the dark idolatrous nations a new dispensation in such a degree of heavenly light, and such discoveries of the divine goodwill towards men, as are the worthiest objects of their most rational and ardent desires. And *then*, at that happy time, that house, how mean soever it appeared in their eyes at present, would be *filled with glory*. He proceeds, enlarging upon the same sentiment in the text, *The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord* ; all the rich and splendid materials in the world are absolutely my property, and I could easily have commanded them all in beautifying this house, as well as that which Solomon built. But there is a glory far superior to all external ornaments, how costly or curious soever ; and with respect to such glory, *the glory of this latter, and much inferior, house*, which you are now building, *shall be greater than that of the former*, and much more splendid, which Solomon built ; *for in this place will I give, appoint, or constitute peace* ; meaning, more especially, the Gospel, which, by our Lord, the Messiah, was first preached, and in his blood established in the land of Judea. *Peace*, in general, signifies in Scripture all manner of happiness, and in particular is used to denote the Gospel, as in Ephes. ii. 17, " And *Jesus Christ* came and preached

peace, *the Gospel*, to you, *Gentiles*, who were afar off, and to them, *the Jews*, that were nigh." Hence our Lord is styled "Prince of Peace," Isaiah, ix. 6.

It is quite foreign to the purpose, and to the text, to draw any comparison between the external meanness or magnificence of houses or temples, which can yield very little or no useful instruction. The design of the Spirit of God in the text is plainly to show and inculcate this truth—that there is a spiritual or heavenly glory, which can render the meanest fabric illustrious, and give it a splendour far beyond the richest decorations of silver and gold; and consequently, that the most sumptuous structures make no figure in the eye of God, nor should be valued and admired by us, any further than they are honoured and beautified with the spiritual and heavenly glory, the glory of the Gospel, which is infinitely superior to the most costly materials, disposed according to the most elegant rules of art.

This building here will be a lasting monument of your piety and generosity, and of the skill and diligence by which it hath been brought to this elegant and commodious form. It was in your hearts to build a house for the honour and worship of God. It was well that it was in your hearts, and that you were able to effect it; and we should be greatly thankful to God for both. It was God that enlarged your hearts to give so liberally and cheerfully, and by the good providence of God it is at length finished in a manner which must give you pleasure.

But should we please ourselves only with the outward form? And are these material ornaments the

only beauty this house is capable of? Very far from that. There is another beauty infinitely brighter than any we can behold with our bodily eyes ; a spiritual and heavenly beauty, the glory of the Gospel, the most illustrious display of the divine wisdom and beneficence, the very highest excellence of our nature, and the supreme desire and joy of our hearts. And that temple is finished and complete in beauty where this glory shines, where it is seen and admired, where it is admitted into the soul, and regulates the whole conversation. This is the very end for which we have raised this fabric ; and if the Lord of Hosts, in favour of our pious design and endeavours, shall say, *In this place I will establish Peace*, then is this house truly magnificent, and they are truly happy who frequent it.

But Peace, in its most comprehensive sense, includes all manner of blessings ; such, in particular, as flow more immediately from the favour of God ; *peace* with God, or reconciliation to him, as our God in the everlasting covenant which secures the possession of eternal life ; *peace* and comfort in our own breasts, from a sense of pardoning mercy and a consciousness of being truly directed in our tempers and conversation ; *peace* and goodwill, kind and benevolent dispositions towards all mankind, when our minds are conciliated to all our fellow-creatures, and especially to all our fellow-christians, under all their various divisions and denominations ; *peace* in a civil sense, when we quietly enjoy our national and religious rights, and are well-affected to the government which supports them : lastly, *peace*, harmony and love among ourselves. These are the particular instances of peace, which

makes us happy both in a personal and social capacity ; and I doubt not but you will all sincerely concur with me in wishing that such peace may be the glory of this and of every other Christian society in the world.

I. *Peace with God*, or reconciliation to him as our God in the everlasting covenant, is the primary glory of Christian assemblies. *Rom. v. 1.* “ Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.” We are no more enemies, as we should have been had we continued in the state of heathenism ; but upon such happy terms with God, that we may expect the greatest blessedness from him. Heathen temples the most magnificent and splendid were but darkness and deformity, as the worshippers were involved in ignorance and idolatry, without God and without hope. But we are light in the Lord. All the perfections of the divine nature are displayed before our eyes. His goodness in particular smiles upon us in all the charms of the most surprising benevolence, in Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath opened and assured to a sinful world the richest treasures of divine mercy ; an interest in God as our God, Father and Friend ; the free and full remission of sin ; a place in the kingdom and family of God ; the privileges and honours of his saints and servants ; the favours and encouragements of his beloved children ; the joys and glory of a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people ; free and welcome access to the throne of grace ; the assistances of his spirit to help our infirmities, and to render all our pious endeavours successful ; the exceeding great and

precious promises of guidance, support, protection and supply through all the difficulties of this world, and the hope of a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory laid up for us, as our portion and inheritance in the world to come. This is the Gospel : thus we and other Christians have peace with God, and are surrounded with a glory infinitely beyond human description or conception. And in this place may this glory always shine in all its heavenly brightness ; and in this place may this peace be fully and perpetually given as the solid foundation of all other blessedness. Here, in the preaching of the Gospel, may the grace of God in a Redeemer be clearly displayed ; may it enlighten every mind, reign in every heart, and be productive of all the fruits of righteousness.

II. Peace in the text may include peace and comfort in our own breasts, from a sense of pardoning mercy, and from a consciousness of our being truly directed in our tempers and conversation. *Psalm xxxii.* 1, 2. "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile." May this be the happy state of every one who here attends upon the worship of God. In a sense of God's pardoning mercy, may every heart be filled with solid comfort, free from all uneasy reflections upon what is past, and from all dismal forebodings of what is to come. But the conscience can never be comfortably settled when the mind is not well instructed in knowledge and duty. Where those are dark and uncertain, the con-

science must be in a doubtful, uneasy situation, obnoxious to the misgivings of ignorance and error, and to the hurries and disquietude of passions not properly governed. These disorders are removed, and peace of mind, in this important respect, is secured by a serious, constant attention to the word of God, and to the ordinances of the Gospel, which are intended, and by the Divine Wisdom well adapted, to lead us, upon the most evident and certain principles, into all necessary truth, and to make us good and virtuous, wise and upright, in everything that adorns the mind, purifieth the heart, and regulates the life. And in this point also, I doubt not, the strongest desires of your hearts will concur with mine, that the principles of the Gospel may evermore be explained and enforced in this place, in such manner as to convey the clearest and most amiable ideas of the Divine Perfections, and of his kind regards to the children of men; and to lead every person to every right disposition of heart and to every instance of duty and holy conversation. Here may the grace of God and the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ be always represented as strongly obliging and greatly encouraging to a virtuous, useful, and beneficent life, to all goodness and brotherly kindness, honesty and integrity, humility and meekness, sobriety and self-government, chastity, peaceableness, patience and contentment, and to every branch of pious and faithful behaviour towards God and man. “Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good re-

port ; if there be any virtue and any praise," may these things be here and everywhere warmly recommended by all preachers, and cordially received and practised by all hearers, that both may honour and adorn the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things ; and that true religion, free from all superstition and enthusiasm, may here be preserved and propagated, from generation to generation. Thus peace and comfort of mind will be established upon the most excellent principles, and the God of peace will be with you, and "*will give peace in this place.*"

III. The Gospel, on the part of the universal Father, is a declaration of peace on earth and goodwill towards men, and is intended to produce corresponding affections of benevolence in our hearts. All mankind, as they are the offspring of God, are all in all nations a common fraternity, made of one blood, endowed with the same faculties and subject to the same infirmities and sufferings, and therefore have a just claim to our friendly regards ; and we should sincerely desire their happiness and endeavour to promote it as we have power and opportunities. But we are under stronger obligations to those that stand in a nearer situation ; I mean to our fellow-christians ; such especially as are not involved in the grand apostasy. We are *Christians*, and only *Christians*, a name which in its original and true meaning includes all that is virtuous and amiable, just and good, noble and divine, excellent and heavenly ;—a name which would still have retained the same illustrious meaning, had it not been so commonly and vilely profaned by multitudes, who have made a profession of it, while their temper and

practice have been inconsistent with it. *Christians* is the honourable name we wear, as a glorious diadem upon our heads, in token of the favour of the Father of the universe, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Episcoparians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Calvinists, Arminians, Arians, Trinitarians and others, are names of religious distinctions. But, however we may commonly be ranked under any of these divisions, we reject them all. We disown all connection, excepting that of love and goodwill, with any sect or party whatsoever. We are a society built and established, not upon any human foundation, but only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, of which Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone. We are *Christians*, and only *Christians*; and we consider all our fellow-Protestants of every denomination in the same light; only as *Christians*; and cordially embrace them all in affection and charity as such. Whatever peculiar tenets they may hold, or in what respects soever they may differ from us, such tenets and such difference we consider not as affecting their Christian character and profession in general. Notwithstanding such peculiarities, we allow they may be good Christians, and as good Christians as ourselves. And therefore upon these just and extensive principles we deny communion to none of our fellow-Protestants; we refuse communion, upon the same catholic foundation, with none of them. From the Church of England we do indeed dissent, but not as enemies, seeking her destruction; but as real friends, wishing her most perfect establishment and prosperity.

While the human understanding is so narrow and

imperfect, and while there are things in the Scriptures which may possibly by honest well-meaning persons be differently understood, there will unavoidably be difference of sentiments among the professors of Christianity. But as we judge all other men to be fallible and liable to mistake, so we pass the very same judgement upon ourselves. As we allow no man to have dominion over our own faith, so we pretend to have no dominion over any man's faith or conscience, but freely leave him to the faithful exercise of his own judgement ; nay, we advise and exhort every person to the free and sincere use of his own understanding and judgement, as the only way in which he can approve himself to God, and gain the acceptance of his religious endeavours. And in this way, though he may not agree with us in disputable points, we own and receive him as acceptable to God, and entitled to our religious fellowship.

This is the rule of Christian love and unity, strongly recommended and enjoined by our Lord and his apostles, which we are therefore bound in duty and conscience to observe ; nor may we, nor may any other Christians, dare to espouse principles or allow ourselves in any instance of practice which is inconsistent with an equal goodwill to all our fellow-Christians.— **THIS** is the true and only ground of religious peace and concord ; and **THIS** is the most perfect state to which the Christian Church can arrive in this world. To unity of knowledge and sentiments we cannot attain, under the unavoidable imperfections of our nature ; nor, for the same reason, can we possibly, by a free and universal consent, establish uniformity of

worship among all Christians. But though we cannot unite in opinions or modes of worship, we may very amicably agree, and be sufficiently united in spirit, in love, or charity, which is the very highest degree of perfection to which religion can be raised here below, and which therefore the apostle very justly terms *the bond of perfectness*. Col. iii. 14. “And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness ;” *i. e.* Put on love, which is the bond of that perfect union which ought to subsist in the body of Christ, and by which the whole Church becomes as perfect as it can be at present.

Uniformity of sentiments and worship our present state of imperfection will not admit ; nor can they be introduced but by such violence to understanding and conscience as is subversive of all true religion, and must ever be attended with variance and strife, endless contention and confusion, unnatural persecution, the bitterest animosity and hatred, and every passion which sours or inflames the mind, disordereth, disturbeth and distresseth the world. But love and friendly affections, candour and mutual forbearance are the strong cement which connects Christians into one happy body ; the balm, which heals every wound ; the fragrant perfume, which, so far as it is diffused, renders society very pleasing and delightful ; the genial dew of heaven, which cools immoderate heats, sweetly refreshes life, and promotes our spiritual growth, by dilating the heart to universal goodness and benevolence, by opening the understanding, and giving freedom of mind to admit the truth wherever we find it.

“ Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”

This Chapel therefore we have erected, and here we intend to worship the living and true God, through the one Mediator Jesus Christ ; not in opposition to, but in perfect peace and harmony with all our fellow-Protestants. This edifice is founded upon no party principles or tenets, but is built on purpose, and with this very design, to keep ourselves clear from them all ; to discharge ourselves from all the prejudices and fetters in which any of them may be held, that so we may exercise the public duties of religion upon the most catholic and charitable foundation, according to the rules and spirit of genuine Christianity, as taught and established by our Lord and his inspired apostles ; and that, upon this enlarged ground, we may be quite free to search the Scriptures, to discover, correct and reform, at any time, our own mistakes and deficiencies, and at liberty to exercise communion with any of our Christian brethren. This is our present sense and spirit, and I hope it will always be so. May all party-zeal, strife and animosity be banished from all our hearts, and here and everywhere be totally extinguished. May all wrangling, contention, doubtful disputation, and angry debate, which have so long and so wretchedly distracted the Christian Church, entirely cease, and sink into eternal silence. May we follow the truth in love, in simplicity and sincerity. In this place may the doctrines of salvation, as delivered in the Holy Scriptures, be explained, upon their proper evidence, with this single and only view,

to show their truth, excellency and power ; not to disparage, offend or disturb others ; but for our own benefit and comfort, that we may lay them up in our own hearts and practise them in our own lives. Thus we shall act as becomes good Christians, the *sons of peace* ; the *Gospel of peace* will shine brightly amongst us : “ the peace of God, which passeth understanding, will rule in *our* hearts ;” and “ the God of Peace will make *us* perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ.”

IV. We now come to *peace* in a civil sense ; when we quietly enjoy our national and religious rights, and are well-affected to the government which supports and guards them.

To recount all the blessings we have enjoyed since the happy accession of the House of Hanover, is not easy, nor indeed necessary. The nation in general is very sensible of them, and I may be bold to say there are none that understand or value them more than ourselves. Under the just, mild and auspicious government of his present majesty, and that of his illustrious father, we have seen days of peace and prosperity not to be equalled in any part of the English annals, and have enjoyed national privileges and happiness in as high a degree as the best of constitutions will admit, and I suppose as the present state of things in this world will probably allow. Industry hath had full scope to exert itself in procuring the accommodations of life, and what industry hath procured we have been absolutely secure of possessing, without any danger of molestation from lawless power. Clear of

all unnatural restraints or discouragements from public authority, understanding and conscience have been in full liberty ; and every person hath been perfectly free to be wise, pious, good and virtuous, under the direction of the best light he could discover. And here, give me leave to indulge a little to the joy of my own heart. With great pleasure and thankfulness to God, I always reflect that the studious and active part of my life hath fallen in the glorious reigns of George the First and George the Second, under whom I have had free access to my Bible, and full liberty to publish what I have found there ; and this with general favour and approbation. The benefit of revelation is inestimably great ; but is much diminished or totally lost where the priest and the bigot have power to forbid the impartial study of it. But a different spirit hath prevailed in the glorious reigns of George the First and George the Second, who have not given the least countenance to any species of spiritual tyranny ; and therefore, if any have not faithfully endeavoured to settle their religious principles upon the most solid grounds, it must have been the fault of their own ignorant, careless, enslaved and perverted minds.

And, by the way let me remark, that, as religious liberty was never in any period before allowed to our nation so fully and extensively, this is the only opportunity we ever had of judging what in fact the consequences and effects of such liberty might be. And what have the consequences of religious toleration been for the last forty years ? Hath there been more disorder and disquiet in our land ? more uneasiness, vari-

ance and animosity ? more sedition and tumult ? more difficulties to the government, more danger to the established church, or more detriment to religion in general ? No ; but on the contrary, more peace and tranquillity, more goodness and candour, more kindness and charity, more satisfaction of mind, more union of hearts, more security to the government, more safety to the establishment, and more improvement in religious knowledge, than could possibly exist under the weak and persecuting reigns which our ancestors sadly experienced.

Great is the peace we have enjoyed under his majesty's wise and equitable government ; and we should desire and endeavour that the same blessing may be established and perpetuated to the latest posterity. To this end, be deeply persuaded, that, under God, the continuance of our happiness depends upon the succession of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover. This is the life of the nation, and we should adhere to it and support it, and all the interests that are connected with it, as our very life, at the hazard and expense of our all ; for if that be lost, all is lost ; if that be safe, we may think ourselves happy in any circumstances. Do all in your power to make the burden of government easy ; avoid whatever may perplex and distress it ; abhor a spirit of disaffection and obloquy ; do not rashly or wantonly censure the conduct of those that are at the helm. They are the ministers of God unto us for good, attending, studying and labouring continually for our peace, safety and welfare ; and therefore, as much as in us lies, we should assist their endeavours and strengthen their

hands. What the wisdom of parliament appoints we should cheerfully contribute to the support of the government and defence of the nation, especially at this important conjuncture, when our unjust and inveterate enemies threaten the most desperate attack upon all our invaluable possessions, and meditate nothing less than our destruction. At all times let us be well-pleased that we, as Dissenters, are such large sharers in national privileges ; nor let us expect or desire further favours, when they cannot be allowed consistently with the repose and quiet of our country. In short, in our prayers, in our thoughts, words and whole behaviour, let us act like well-contented, peaceable and dutiful subjects. Thus we shall contribute our quota to the peace and happiness of the nation ; thus we shall deserve the favour and protection of the government ; and thus, by discharging our duty, we shall engage the Divine Blessing, *and in this place the Lord of hosts will give peace*,—the peaceable enjoyment of our national rights and liberties.

But under this head we must not forget our connection with this ancient and honourable City, where Providence hath allotted our habitations, and to which we owe a very high regard. Nature has so linked mankind together, that every one is accountable for his character to his neighbours ; and as it is a felicity to stand well in the thoughts and judgement of others ; so it is not only an innocent, but a very just and laudable ambition by good actions to merit the esteem of those among whom we dwell. 'Tis very well known that many members of this Society have gained the reputation of very worthy and useful citi-

zens ; and it certainly is, and always will be, the duty and honour of all that belong to it, to tread in their steps, and to gain the public approbation, by seeking the peace and prosperity of the City ; by showing the example of a sober, regular and virtuous life ; by a steady regard to truth and justice, honour and integrity ; by a hearty concern for promoting religion and good order ; by a generous kindness and benevolence, and by all good works and offices to any part of the community ; and so doing, the Lord of hosts, in this respect also, *will give peace in this place*. This place will be a nursery of good and valuable persons ; we shall be upon honourable terms with our fellow-citizens, and shall support the reputation of the Society free from offence and reproach. But remember, we cannot promise to preserve this Congregation perfectly pure, how sincerely soever we may wish and endeavour it. No moral means are accountable for the effects. The best instructions may be disregarded ; nor was the Christian Church at any time absolutely free from sullied characters ; not even that small, select number of twelve, whom our Lord chose to be apostles, and the immediate attendants upon his person.

V. We now advance to the last article of peace, which we should wish the Lord of hosts would give in this place ; and that is, according to the apostolic exhortation, the being *at peace among ourselves* ; or, as our Lord, “ have peace one with another.” A great instance of happiness ; which stands upon this principle ; that we all, in Christ Jesus, belong to the family of God, as his sons and daughters ; and therefore are obliged to be kindly affectioned one to another in brotherly love, sincerely desiring to promote the wel-

fare of each other, both spiritual and temporal ; being ready to all good offices, in meekness and humility, kindness, moderation, forbearance, tenderness and compassion. Banishing all pride, vanity and insolence, let everyone in his sphere consult the interests, and study to gain the affection and esteem of the whole body. Cautiously avoid whatever may occasion variance or uneasiness. “ My brethren, be not many masters.” Let no man affect to rule or dictate. Let no man, in any case, insist upon his own humour or judgement. No point, that any person may possibly gain, can be an equivalent for the loss of peace and concord ; no gratification in pleasing himself can equal the satisfaction of yielding for the sake of peace. But I shall not expatiate on this point, as it is of a private nature among ourselves, and as unity and good agreement, to your praise be it spoken, is become, as it were, the genius or habitual temper of this Society. Witness your peaceable settlement in this new place, and in these new seats : An extraordinary instance, indeed, of amicable dispositions, which I can’t but regard as a pledge that the Lord of hosts, of his great goodness, “ will in this place give peace,” by continuing among you a spirit of harmony and concord.

To conclude : Your design in raising this fabric was to honour the Lord with your substance ; and may God entail a blessing upon you and your families. May your pious intentions in every respect be fully answered, that we, and all who come after us, may here worship the Supreme Father, in spirit and in truth, till we shall all be joined to the general assembly and church of the first-born in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

CERTIFICATE OF ORDINATION; A.D. 1716.

WHEREAS Mr. JOHN TAYLOR, of Kirkstead, of the county of Lincoln, hath addrest himselfe to the Dissenting Ministers of the county of Derby, desireing to be Ordain'd a Preaching Presbyter, and hath exhibited to the Ministers sufficient testimonies of his unblameable life and conversation, and of his diligence and of his proficiency in his studies;—Wee, the said Ministers, haveing examined him, and finding him to be duly qualify'd and gifted for that holy office and employment, have approved him; And accordingly, upon the day and year after mentioned, have proceeded solemnly to sett him apart to the office of a Preaching Presbyter and work of the ministry, with fasting and prayer and imposition of hands, and do hereby acknowledge him to be a sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ. In wittness wherof we have hereunto subscribed

our names the eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixteen.

Ja. Clegge, scribe.

Rob. Fern.

G. Jones.

John Hardy.

John Ashe.

John Thomas.

George Lowe.

[To the above original Document is annexed the following, in Dr. Taylor's own handwriting.]

The Answers which (as I remember, for I had not time to write them down) I returned to the Ministers' questions at my Ordination, April 11, 1716.

Quest. 1. What are your ends in undertaking the work and calling of a minister?

Ans. After a severe search into my own heart, upon prayer to God, the searcher of hearts, I have some time concluded, and conclude now (making allowance for the common infirmity), I hope I can now conclude that the glory of God and the welfare of souls are what I chiefly design in taking upon me so weighty an office.

Quest. 2. What are your purposes as to diligence and industry in the calling?

Ans. I take that solemn charge as directed to myself which St. Paul gives his son Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 1, 2.), and therefore I do (I trust) sincerely, freely, chearfully, and solemnly, knowing that I am in the presence of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, who will judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, dedicate myself to the work, and do vow and promise to preach the word and nothing but the word (wherever God shall send me). I will be instant in season, out of season, will reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.

Quest. 3. Do you promise you will be zealous and faithfull in the defence of truth and unity against error and schism?

Ans. I do promise, through God's assistance, that I will,

in a manner consistent with Christian love and charity, maintain the truths of the Gospel, especially such as are beyond controversy, determin'd in the holy scriptures, and will strive to inculcate them upon the minds of all with whom I have to do. I will heartily endeavour to propagate Christian charity, and shall see them with real pleasure when I see believers maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

Quest. 4. What is your persuasion of the truth of the Protestant religion?

Ans. I am fully persuaded of the truth of the holy scriptures, and it has ever been my notion of the Protestant religion, in the abstract, that it regulates itself entirely according to God's word; therefore I am fully persuaded that the Protestant religion is or should be the true primitive Christian religion.

Quest. 5. Suppose that God should set you over a family, how would you discharge your duty towards it?

Ans. Into what family soever Providence shall cast me, now that I am a single man, I purpose to endeavour to erect an altar to God in it; but if it shall please the wise Disposer of all things to set unworthy me at the head of a family of my own, I purpose to behave myself in it as a prophet, a priest, and a king; to teach it, to pray for it, to command and charge it to keep God's laws.

Quest. 6. Will you, with humility and meekness, submit to the admonition and discipline of your brethren?

Ans. Could I be so vain as imagine the young man sufficient for governing the minister, perhaps I might think the Christian admonition and discipline of my brethren an unnecessary thing in my case; but when I am fully satisfy'd to the contrary, I think it highly expedient, and therefore I do promise to submit with humility and meekness to the Christian admonition and discipline of my brethren.

Quest. 7. Supposing persecution should arise for the sake of the Gospel, would you adhere to Jesus Christ and the work of the ministry?

Ans. I cannot so well promise for the future stability of

grace as I can declare unto you my present posture of mind. I think I may say, were I now standing before a bench of unjust, persecuting, cruel, blood-thirsty judges, not all their terrors and minaces should separate between my Jesus and my soul; and I do promise not only to maintain this frame of mind, but will daily strive to increase faith, hope, and love, that they may be as so many anchors of the soul, to keep me stedfast and immoveable in every condition of life. I promise that no danger shall deter me from the work of the ministry, which I have undertaken.

JOHN TAYLOR.

No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM "A DEFENCE OF THE COMMON
RIGHTS OF CHRISTIANS."

Romish Popery.

"A PRETENDED infallible judge was set up, to determine faith, to decide controversies, and to govern the Church. Moreover, a new kind of learning was invented, consisting of abstract notions, whimsical and unintelligible terms of art, subtle evasions, and frivolous distinctions; whereby the doctrine of Christianity was changed into dark and intricate schemes, above the capacity of the vulgar, and fitted to serve all the purposes of error and spiritual usurpation.

"In the mean while, the Papal authority exerted itself in forbidding inquiry, and suppressing the use of understanding in religious matters, in commanding an implicit belief of whatever the Church pronounced to be Christian faith, and in declaring those to be heretics, under several odious names, and casting them out of the communion of the Church, who dared to look into the Scriptures, and were honest enough to believe only what they found therein.

"But this was not enough;—the power of the magistrate

was called in* ; and whom the fallacies of school-learning or the authority of the infallible Head could not convince, the secular arm was to compel.

“This is ROMISH POKERY : whereby, as Revelation foretold, the Gospel, which is the power of God to promote goodness, love, humility, and benevolence amongst men, is unnaturally turned into an engine of usurpation, pride, tyranny, hatred, malice, and all manner of mischief.”

Protestant Popery.

“Many gross errors they [the Reformers] rejected, some they retained. But the grand mistake was, after they had drawn schemes of faith from the Scriptures, honestly no doubt, and to the best of their abilities, either they or their followers, as if they had delivered the whole of Scripture truth, without any mixture of error, erected those schemes, though differing very much from one another, into rules to be universally received. The Scriptures were permitted to be read, but only in the sense of those schemes. Any that disputed them were loaded with odious party names, and Christian professors were again led to disparage and hate, to cast out and separate from one another, on account of difference in sentiments ; in which yet they could not but differ, seeing that a free and peaceable study of God’s Word was not allowed them. In Protestant schools, they that were educated for the ministry were taught the doctrine they were to preach, not from the Holy Scriptures, but from systems of divinity after the model of the Popish school-men, and taken chiefly from them. Their abstract metaphysical notions, terms of art, divisions and distinctions were retained, and still applied to Christian principles. Among Protestants their several creeds and Churches were established by the secular power, and the magistrate required his people to believe after the particular confession or articles he espoused. Subscription to human schemes

* The first step of this kind was in the reign of Constantine the Great, who banished those bishops and presbyters that would not subscribe the Nicene Creed.

was demanded ; Convocations and Committees for preserving the purity of faith were erected ; men were constituted judges of Scripture doctrine for whole nations and communities, and conscience was again made responsible to earthly tribunals. Worldly emoluments were annexed to a supposed right belief, and heavy penalties inflicted upon recusants.

“This is PROTESTANT POPERY ; which, though in some respects better than the ROMISH, is yet more inconsistent, because it renounceth infallibility, and yet imposeth and persecuteth as if infallible ; rejecteth human authority, and yet in many cases pleadeth and resteth upon it ; lastly, permitteth the Scriptures to be read, but not understood ; or, which is all one, to be understood only in the sense of schemes formed and established by men.”

Dissenting Popery.

“Their ministers were not indeed explicitly required by them [the Dissenters] to assent and consent to any prescribed forms of faith, saving what are Scriptural ; but yet, by custom and tacit consent, some books, and the opinions of some men, passed for the standards of orthodoxy ; and it was expected ministers should shape their doctrine according to them. Thus things went on till within about forty years ; when LIBERTY at the Revolution, O bright, auspicious day ! reared up her heavenly form, and smiled upon our happy land. Delivered from the fears of tyranny and persecution, men began freely to use their understandings ; the Scriptures were examined with more attention and care, and their *true* sense, setting aside human comments, and especially the jargon and sophistry of school-divinity, was sought after. Then some unscriptural propositions being discovered in the books and catechisms which the Dissenters in fact, though not in profession, had made the rule of faith, some ministers began to vary from them, and false alarms were spread among the laity, as if the fundamentals of Religion were struck at. Within the last twenty years, since the confirmation of LIBERTY by the accession of the

present Royal Family, greater freedom of inquiry hath been used, and many among us have generously declared for it*; while others, tenacious of the received opinions, as stiffly opposed it. Hereupon some few congregations have divided; some ministers, that could not fall in with common schemes, have been cast out as unfit to officiate in the sacred office, though otherwise men of the first accomplishments and characters.

“This is **DISSENTING POPERY**;—for Popery is not mere error, seeing the best of Protestants may be in error more or less; but Popery is *human infallibility and persecution*, wherever they are found, whether among Papists, Protestants, or Dissenters. *Human infallibility* is making the judgement or writings of any man, or body of men, since the Apostles’ days, the rule of Christian faith, not to be doubted, questioned, or departed from. *Persecution* is any degree of hatred, or any kind of injury done to those who differ from us in religious sentiments. And if *human infallibility* and *persecution* are found among Protestants in general, and Dissenters in particular, it is true, they so far retain a species of Popery, as they ground their faith upon human schemes, and hate and injure those that reject them.”

True Principles of Protestant Dissent.

“If the Dissenters stand firm in liberty and love; if they list themselves under no other head and leader but Christ alone; if they refuse all party-schemes, and stand upon the single basis of universal Christianity; if they allow the free

* An instance we have of this in that noble stand made for liberty at Salters-Hall, in the year 1720; when in a full body of Dissenting ministers in and about London, it was put to the vote, whether subscription should be required to the *Assembly’s Catechism*,—and carried in the negative. This should always be remembered to their honour, as being the only instance perhaps that can be produced out of Church history, for many centuries, of any Synod of ministers declaring in favour of religious liberty.—[See Lord Barrington’s Account of these proceedings, in a Letter to Dr. Gale; 8vo. *Nichols’s Lit. Anecd.* vol. vi. p. 448. EDIT.]

study of the Bible, and encourage the labours of their honest and learned men ; if they are steadfastly determined to establish their faith, practice, and worship, upon the Word of God alone, as it shall from time to time be made known unto them ; and upon this bottom, and no other, have true affection to one another, and to all men ; then they will act up to their own true principles. And though they may not be able at once to bring the whole body of truth out of Revelation, yet the day will shine still brighter upon them ; and their cause, thus set upon its proper basis, will stand, nor shall the gates of Hell prevail against it. But if ever they abandon liberty and love ; if they stiffly adhere to party-names and schemes ; if they set bounds to Scripture-knowledge, and presumptuously say, *Hither shalt thou go, and no further* ; if they discourage the honest and learned, that would throw in more light and truth among them, they will become weak, and waste and dwindle into nothing.”

NO. III.

THE DEDICATION TO THE PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS*.

*To the Society of Christians in the City of NORWICH, whom
I serve in the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Grace,
Mercy and Peace from God, our FATHER, and from the
LORD JESUS CHRIST.*

BELOVED,

IT is my honour and pleasure, as well as duty, to serve you in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and your kind acceptance and due improvement of my honest and well-intended labours is the greatest encouragement I desire. Your affections and friendly regards are, in effect, the whole

* The following authorities will show in what estimation this work has been held :—

“ It is recommended to candidates for priest’s orders, carefully

world to me, and it is my ambition to purchase them only by such worthy actions and honourable discharge of duty as deserve a just and solid esteem.

Too many, I fear, have but imperfect, uncertain notions of Christianity ; but I would gladly give you such a view of the Gospel scheme as may establish you in the faith of Jesus Christ upon the most just and solid grounds, and such a deep sense of the love of God in him, as may form and fix every good principle in the mind, productive of all righteousness in the conversation.

With this only view the book before you was written ; and it was originally designed for your service alone ; for which reason, and as it is the work of one whose character and conversation you are well acquainted with, who ardently desires your spiritual improvement, in order to your eternal felicity, and who for a considerable time has laboured among you for your common good, it is my very earnest and particular request that you would, and my hope that you will, read and study it carefully.

We may not indulge our own conceits in matters of

to peruse Taylor's Paraphrase on the Romans."—*Archd. Paley's Admonitory Sermon to the Young Clergy of Carlisle.*

"The Prefatory Discourse, in which he unfolds the true nature of the Gospel-scheme, and his method of investigating the meaning of St. Paul's reasonings, according to the example of Mr. Locke, and thereby of casting a light upon other parts of the Old and New Testaments, are masterly ; and may be recommended as an excellent model of Scripture criticism."—*Reflections upon the Study of Divinity*, by Edward Bentham, D.D., King's Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church in Oxford. 2nd ed. 8vo. Oxford, 1774, p. 29.

The "Key to the Apostolic Writings" prefix to the work was republished by Bishop Watson, who says of it : "This work is greatly admired by the learned, as containing the best introduction to the Epistles, and the clearest account of the whole Gospel-scheme, which was ever written."

Among the other divines of eminence who have expressed their approbation of this work, may be also mentioned Dr. Green, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Hey, Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

revelation. Every point advanced as Christian doctrine ought to be found in Scripture and explained by Scripture, strictly regarding the principles there taught and the established sense of phrases there used. And it is the design of this essay, setting aside all human schemes and my own imagination, to give you the true scheme of Christianity, collected immediately from that pure fountain, carefully comparing one part with another, that your faith, hope and joy may stand, not upon the wisdom of man, but upon the firm and immovable foundation of the Word of God.

I can truly say I have taken great care to go everywhere upon good and sure grounds. I have not affected novelty, nor inserted any one single sentiment merely because new and plausible, but because I am persuaded it is the true and real, or the most probable sense of Revelation.

And yet I think it my duty to advise you to read what I have writ with proper caution, for after all the care and pains I have taken to see and show the truth, I dare not pretend to be free from all mistakes. The apostles were inspired and infallible writers, but we are none of us either inspired or infallible interpreters. Nor is it necessary we should. In the works of creation God has so clearly shown his eternal godhead, wisdom, goodness and power, that they who do not see and acknowledge them are inexcusable; and many able and ingenious hands have been well and successfully employed in searching into and explaining the various appearances and productions in the natural world. But who ever pretended to penetrate into all the recesses of nature, or to give a perfect, unerring account of all her appearances? Even so the Holy Scriptures do give us such a true, clear and full account of the divine dispensations, and of the way to eternal life, that every one who is willing to understand may very clearly and certainly see what is sufficient to guide him to salvation. And it is the duty of such as have knowledge and learning to dig in those sacred mines, and to endeavour, as they are able, to bring into clearer light the rich treasures which may have been

hidden through the ignorance, error and superstition of foregoing ages. And several worthy and learned pens have been happily employed in this useful and necessary work ; but who will presume to say he has in *every* instance brought forth the pure and precious metal, without any mixture of dross ? The pretences of the Church of Rome to infallibility are proved by their own different sects and sentiments, and by many of their tenets which are either without any ground in Scripture or directly contrary to it, to be manifestly false and arrogant. Nor is the perfection of knowledge or infallibility of sentiment needful to our salvation ; for while we every one of us seriously endeavour to find the truth, and to be governed by it, whatever the quantity of knowledge or certainty of persuasion be to which we attain, we do all that is in our power and all that God requires of us ; nor can we be destitute of that faith which is necessary to salvation. So far as we *truly* follow the Scriptures, we are infallibly sure we are in the right ; and so far as we *honestly* and *sincerely* endeavour to follow them, we are infallibly sure of God's acceptance. But none of us have dominion over the faith of our fellow-Christians and servants, nor must any one pretend to set up for master in Christ's school. Christ alone is our Master and Lord, and we ought not, as indeed justly we cannot, substitute any supposed infallible guide in his place.

I only profess to point at the light shining in Revelation. It is to that light, and not to me, you are to turn your eyes. Indeed I am persuaded, that in the principal parts and general scheme of the Gospel I am not mistaken. However, it is incumbent upon you not implicitly to swallow everything I advance, but to examine carefully whether it be well grounded upon the Word of God.

I have endeavoured to make everything easy and intelligible ; but he who has been much in perusing the apostolic writings is best prepared to apprehend what is here advanced ; and when a person has digested and made familiar the phrases and sentiments here explained,

he will reap but little fruit if he doth not immediately apply himself to reading the Acts and Epistles. To give a clear understanding of them, in particular, is the design of what is here offered, and therefore the careful reading of them should succeed the perusal of this; and if both were read alternately, first the one and then the other, I am persuaded such an exercise would turn to good account. But a person little versed in the apostolic writings can be no competent judge of what I have done, and he who doth not apply what he here learns to his assistance in studying them will receive less benefit from it.

Above all, we should remember that a vain, worldly, sensual mind is in no condition to see or relish the truth as it is in Jesus; nor can any explications force knowledge upon those that are not willing to understand. The love of truth, purity of mind, and patient application, are necessary on your part, and I am persuaded will render the principal things plain, and give you the pleasure of seeing the truth clearly in several points hitherto reckoned very dark and abstruse.

You will not, indeed, be able to form a complete judgement upon some of the criticisms; yet you should not therefore forbear to read them, because you will meet with several useful observations which lie within the reach of such as are not acquainted with the learned languages.

It should never be forgot, that to spend one's time even in commenting and speculating upon the sacred writings, if we do not imbibe the principles they teach, lay them to heart and reduce them to practice, amounts to no more than diverting one's self with any common amusement. St. Paul was ravished with the charms of the Gospel; he felt its power and efficacy upon his own heart; it raised him, in the brightest views of glory, honour and immortality, far above all earthly things. And we then understand the Gospel to purpose, when in the same manner it works upon every spring of action within us.

It is your honour and happiness that you have always been a peaceable people : you scorn to practise the unchristian methods of some, who, to support a favourite sentiment, foment heats, animosities and divisions, and discourage men of probity and learning. You allow your ministers to read the Bible, and to speak what they find there ; you profess universal charity and goodwill to all your brethren in Christ and to all mankind. These are noble principles, and I hope you will never relinquish them. Give your catholicism its proper worth by improving in sound knowledge, and guard it with resolution ; reject all slavish narrow principles with disdain : neither list yourselves nor be prest into the service of any sect or party whatsoever. Be only Christians, and follow only God and truth.

You know your Congregation stands upon no other ground but that catholic one which the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, asserts and demonstrates to be the only and the sufficient foundation of a right to a place in the church and kingdom of God, *Faith in Jesus Christ*. You may rest fully satisfied that you are a true church, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, whereof Christ Jesus is the chief corner-stone. And you have therefore the best reason in the world for adhering steadily to the cause you have espoused—the cause of Christian liberty, which at once settles your profession upon an infallible bottom, rejects all human impositions, and at the same time comprehends and cordially receives all who are of the faith of the Son of God.

I hope I need not warn you against Popery, that monstrous and most audacious corruption of the purest and brightest dispensation of religion. Romish agents are busy amongst us, deluding, *with all deceivableness of unrighteousness*, the weak and ignorant, who do not see the falsehood of their assertions, presumptuously backed with the terror of eternal damnation. This astonishing apostasy is plainly foretold, 2 Thess. ii. 1—12, 1 Tim. iv. 1—5 ; also

in the prophet Daniel, and at large in the Revelation. And this idolatrous church, the mother of harlots, we know shall be “consumed by the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming.” And his voice to us in the meantime is, “Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,” Rev. xviii. 4.

But you are not without danger from another quarter. Some, and not a few in our land, with unnatural eagerness and pleasure, set themselves openly to disparage and disprove the Christian revelation. But where shall we find eternal life but in that revelation? Will it be said that the light of nature discovers it? That light doth discover, indeed, to those that attend to it, a future world; but doth it discover immortality or eternal life? By no means. Doth it show how we shall reach immortality? It may be said, in the practice of virtue. But who can say he hath performed a virtue that, in the estimate of his own reason, will entitle him to it? Who can pretend to have so behaved as to deserve any one blessing from God’s hands? Is it not evident that the best virtue any man performs needs the relief of grace and mercy? And where is that grace and mercy revealed, but in the Gospel? The Gospel alone discovers and ensures immortality, or reveals the grace which expressly gives it, the ground upon which this grace stands, the end for which it is given, and the means by which we may obtain it. And can the full persuasion and view of immortal honour and glory be esteemed a trifle?—a little light dust, to be blown away with every blast of ignorant and profane breath? The Gospel is good news from heaven; pardon and eternal life promised to a sinful world. And can any be so infatuated as to wish its heavenly light and hopes at once extinguished, and the darkness of Paganism restored among the nations? Doth not nature itself teach us to be thankful for superior blessings, and to turn our eyes to the brightest views and

clearest prospects of happiness? If the Universal Father is pleased to bestow upon us singular favours, is it not most unnatural and wicked to despise and reject them? Such is the glory and excellence, such the delightful prospects of the Gospel, that, instead of cavilling and opposing, methinks the proper and only concern of every mind should be to seek out evidence and all possible means to establish its truth.

Value the Word of God as your richest treasure, and the only fund of true and perfect religious knowledge, comfort and joy; read it over diligently, and treasure it up in your minds as a rule of life; then you will experience its power and excellency. Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together; with readiness of mind embrace any opportunity of joining a society which worships God in spirit and truth, as part of his family, as the heirs of the grace of life, in hope of being joined in a little time to the blessed society of the angels above. Live in love and goodness to all men, and especially to one another. Be instant and fervent in prayer; make conscience of family and closet devotion. Keep your hearts and views above this world; daily look and prepare for the coming of our Lord. And *that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve those things which are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God*, is the unfeigned wish of your faithful servant for the sake of Jesus,

JOHN TAYLOR.

No. IV.

THE CHARGE TO HIS PUPILS, WITH WHICH DR. TAYLOR ALWAYS PREFACED HIS LECTURES, AS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY *.

I. "I do solemnly charge you, in the name of the God of Truth, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and before whose judgement-seat you must in no long time appear, that in all your studies and inquiries of a religious nature, present or future, you do constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously attend to evidence, as it lies in the Holy Scriptures, or in the nature of things, and the dictates of reason ; cautiously guarding against the sallies of imagination, and the fallacy of ill-grounded conjecture.

II. "That you admit, embrace, or assent to no principle or sentiment, by me taught or advanced, but only so far as it shall appear to you to be supported and justified by proper evidence from Revelation, or the reason of things.

III. "That if at any time hereafter any principle or sentiment, by me taught or advanced, or by you admitted and embraced, shall, upon impartial and faithful examination, appear to you to be dubious or false, you either suspect or totally reject such principle or sentiment.

IV. "That you keep your mind always open to evidence ; that you labour to banish from your breast all prejudice, prepossession and party-zeal ; that you study to live in peace and love with all your fellow-Christians ; and that you steddily assert for yourself, and freely allow to others, the unalienable rights of judgement and conscience."

* See the Preface to his "Scheme of Scripture Divinity, formed upon the Plan of the Divine Dispensations": a posthumous work, published in 1762 ; and republished in the Collection of Tracts by Bishop Watson, who thus characterizes it : "This book deserves to be generally known ; it has been for some years out of print, and much sought after by the clergy ; I thought I should do them an acceptable service in making it a part of this Collection."

No. V.—DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, CON-
FERRED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Senatus Universitatis Glasguensis Christiano Lectori
Salutem.

QUUM ad SENATUM ACADEMICUM RELATUM esset de ORNANDO Summis in Theologia Honoribus Reverendo VIRO JOANNE TAYLOR, A.M., Ecclesiæ Christianæ NORWICI Pastore;—Nos Viri Egregij scriptis doctis et piis clarissimi tum morum sanctimoniam tum ingenium vere liberum et in nullius sectæ verba jurare addictum, eruditionem etiam summam et in Sacris Literis in Linguis Orientalibus ac in omni Theologia peritiam abunde comperta et cognita habentes, DOCTORALI eum in SS. THEOLOGIA dignitate ornandum consentientes censuimus ac decrevimus.—Dictum igitur Reverendum Virum JOANNEM TAYLOR, A.M., Theologiæ DOCTOREM creavimus declaravimus ac renunciavimus, et his eum Literis DOCTOREM Theologiæ creamus declaramus ac renunciamus, eique cuncta privilegia et jura Theologiæ Doctoribus usquam gentium concessa vel concedi solita concedimus nos et tribuimus lubentissime. In quorum fidem Literas hasce communi ACADEMIÆ sigillo munitas dabamus GLASGUE die XX^{mo} Januarij Anno Æræ Christianæ MDCCLVI.

R. HAMILTON, Anat. P. Vice Rector.

GUL. LEECHMAN, S.T.P. Dec. Fac.

ROB. SIMSON, Math. P.

HER. LINDESAY, Jur. Civ. P.

ADAM SMITH, P. P.

ROBERT DICK, P. N. P.

JAS. CLOW, P.P.

GEO. MUIRHEAD, L. H. P.

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

W. H. Jones Esq.,
THE *from the Author.*

USE AND ABUSE OF TRADITION.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

PARISH CHURCH OF FAKENHAM,

ON

FRIDAY, MAY THE 10TH, 1844,

AT THE VISITATION OF

THE VEN. JOHN OLDERSHAW,

ARCHDEACON OF NORFOLK.

BY

THE HON. AND REV. THOMAS KEPPEL,

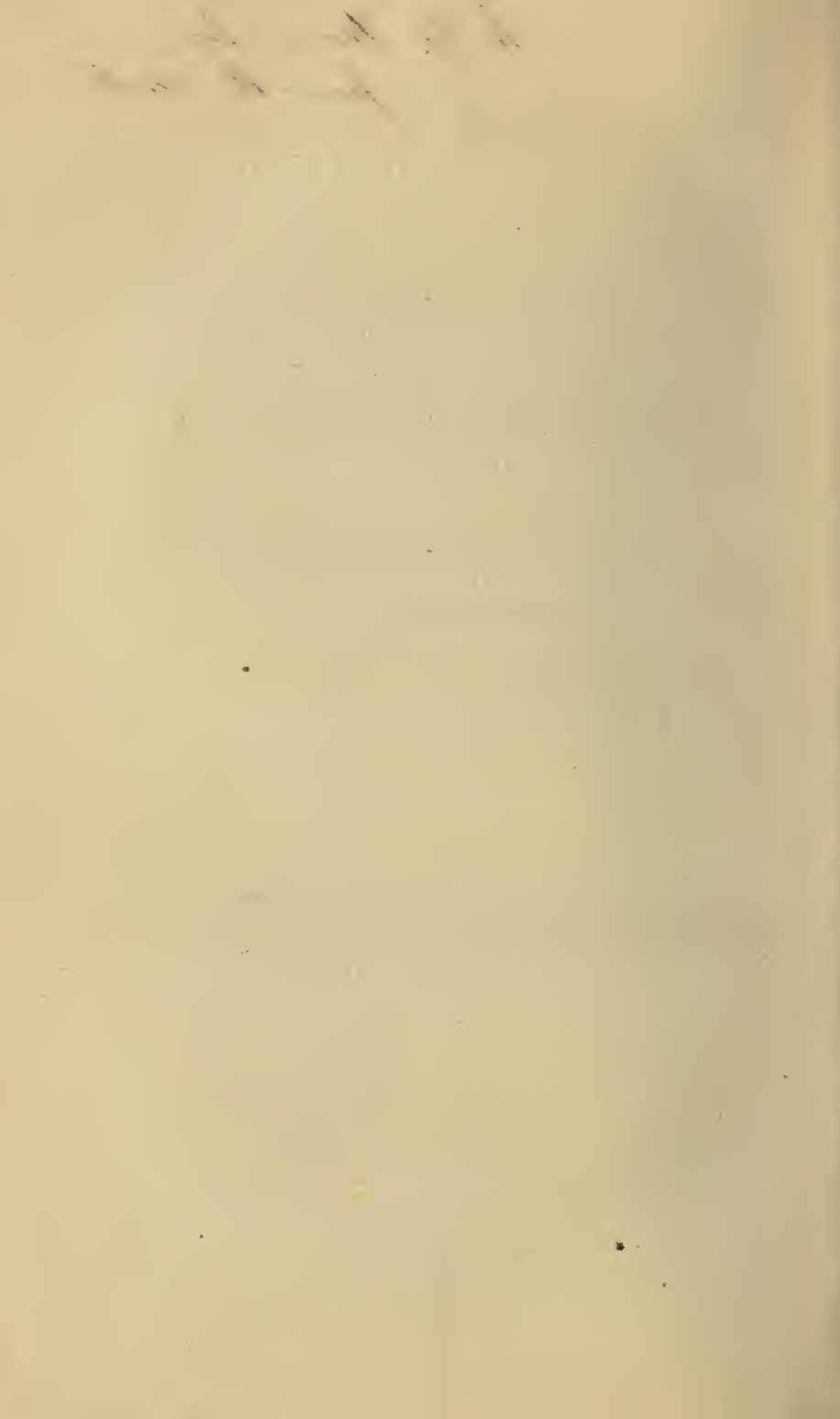
RECTOR OF WARHAM ST. MARY, CUM WATERDEN.

NORWICH:

JOSIAH FLETCHER, UPPER HAYMARKET;

LONDON: RIVINGTONS.

1844.



THE
USE AND ABUSE OF TRADITION.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE
PARISH CHURCH OF FAKENHAM,

ON
FRIDAY, MAY THE 10TH, 1844,

AT THE VISITATION OF
THE VEN. JOHN OLDERSHAW,

ARCHDEACON OF NORFOLK.

BY
THE HON. AND REV. THOMAS KEPPEL,
RECTOR OF WARHAM ST. MARY, CUM WATERDEN.

NORWICH:
JOSIAH FLETCHER, UPPER HAYMARKET;
LONDON: RIVINGTONS.
1844.

“An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath caused much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needed.”—*Hooker*, vol. i, p. 318. Keble's Ed.

A SERMON.

1 THESS. v, 21.

Prove all things : hold fast that which is good.

THE age in which we live is one of inquiry and observation. No longer can the faithful pastor pursue the even tenor of his way, and turn a deaf ear to the warnings which are sounding in our Zion. Contending opinions, both as regards doctrine and practice, are advocated by learned and pious members of our establishment. Patristical theology is advanced to maintain the views held by different individuals. "Strange and erroneous doctrine" is taught, which we of the ministry have solemnly pledged ourselves with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away.¹ Even the Reformation and the principles of the Reformation are called in question. In such a state of things, how imperatively are we called upon to "Prove all things," to try and examine all opinions, doctrines, and practices, and having done so, to "hold fast that which is good."

We cannot blind our eyes to the fact, that the controversy now agitating the religious community of this nation, has been instrumental in creating a predilection for doctrines and practices repudiated at the Reformation, and has thus led to the revival of some of the errors of the Church of

¹ Ordination Service.

Rome. While on the other hand, a dread of superstition has induced many pious members of our establishment, to attach the name of Popery to some of the genuine doctrines and practices of our pure reformed church. And is there not danger lest, in our anxiety to shun one error, we run into the opposite extreme? How necessary then does it become, that we receive nothing as a doctrine of our church, that we cannot prove to be true by the unerring test to which all our teaching must be submitted, from which there can be no appeal, and by which we must be judged at the last day.

No, my reverend brethren, if we would not be "carried about by every wind of doctrine,"¹ we must follow St. Paul's injunction to the Thessalonians, "Prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good." The great requisite in such an inquiry, is a knowledge of the peculiar constitution of our church. It is by this alone that we can constitute ourselves judges of the present controversy. By this alone can we determine how far the doctrines and practices now so openly advocated, are consonant with the teaching of our church. In the first place, we must make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the Reformation. By so doing, we shall have proof of the soundness and spirituality of that religion which our Protestant forefathers, with the blessing of God, established in our land; we shall be enabled to distinguish what is pure and primitive, from what is corrupt and novel; and to avoid those extremes into which many, from a misconception of the principles of our church, are inclined to run.

Few, it is to be hoped, will refuse to recognize Chillingworth as a safe authority with reference to the principles of the Reformation. That able writer has asserted, and truly asserted, that "the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the

¹ Eph. iv, 14.

religion of Protestants." This vital truth is a fundamental principle of the Reformed Church. But has not this oft repeated quotation from Chillingworth led his admirers to deny tradition its legitimate use, unmindful of his equally strong declaration, that the foundation of his faith was "*Scripture and universal Tradition?*"¹ Hence too, has not the casual observer been induced to lose sight of the grand characteristic, which distinguishes our church from both that of the foreign Protestant, and that of the Romanist? "The Bible, and the Bible alone," is indeed "the religion of Protestants." Our rule of faith has for its grand foundation the Holy Scripture; nor can we too frequently, nor too energetically maintain, that "whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."² Thus far we are in strict agreement with the Continental Protestants, who equally with ourselves hold in abhorrence the Roman Catholic rule of faith, which is founded on Scripture, interpreted by the pretended infallible authority of their church. But while the Church of England inculcates the paramount authority of the canonical Scriptures, she calls to her aid, in the interpretation of the sacred text, the writings of the early fathers; and, in her canons of 1572, directs her ministers to "teach nothing to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of both Testaments, and which has been deduced from that very doctrine by the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops." The Continental Protestants on the contrary, maintain that the interpretation of the Scripture, is to be exclusively derived from Scripture itself; that every individual, as well as every minister, is at liberty to explain the Bible

¹ *Chillingworth's Works*, vol. ii, p. 498.

² Vith Article.

according to his own fancy, to the exclusion of creeds, articles, catholic tradition, and the authority of the church.¹ By not bearing in mind this distinguishing feature, we are too apt to regard the Foreign and English Protestant Churches as identical in faith and practice; to view with a jealous eye, those doctrines and practices prevalent in the Roman communion which have been wisely retained in our own; thereby losing sight of the important fact, that at the time of the Reformation no new church was formed, no new gospel was introduced, no new hierarchy was established, that no doctrine hitherto unknown to the Catholic Church, or condemned by it, was revealed, but that that portion of the Catholic and Apostolic Church which existed in England, and to which we belong, was freed from the usurpation of the See of Rome, and restored, as far as was practicable, to its primeval simplicity and purity.² In carrying out this great work, the holy men who conducted it were guided by Scripture and aided by tradition.

¹ "The Church of Rome fetters the judgment by implicit submission to authority. Foreign branches of the Reformation give unbounded leisure to the fancy, by the unrestricted exercise of private interpretation. But our national Church inculcates a liberal, discriminative, yet undeviating reverence for pious antiquity: a reverence, alike sanctioned by reason, inspired by feeling, and recommended by authority." — *Appendix to Bishop Jebb's Sermons*, pp. 357, 358. Second edition.

The Rev. Pasteur Mestral, at the annual meeting of the Prayer Book and Homily Society, in 1842, said, "I am a minister of a Protestant Church at Canton de Vand, in Switzerland, a church which I am sorry to say, does not enjoy the same privileges as the Church of England. Our constitution is very imperfect; we suffer under the tyranny of a democratical government; we have no creed, no articles of faith, and our ministers are quite free to explain the Bible as they please."

² "There is perhaps," says Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham College, "no erroneous impression more generally prevailing than the popular notion of the nature of the change, which passed upon the national religion at the period of the Reformation. It is

That such was the case, a brief inquiry into our constitution will, I think, clearly establish.

As the minds of our Reformers became gradually enlightened, they discovered the faith and worship of the church to be so overwhelmed with superstition; to be so beset with outward forms and ceremonies; that the holy precepts of the Bible had well nigh become a dead letter. With no design or wish to separate themselves from the

common to think and speak of it as a new religion, as something entirely opposed to what preceded it; as a system invented, or at least first introduced, at that period, and supplanting all that had gone before. The doctrines of the Reformation are referred to in contradistinction to doctrines taught elsewhere and at other times. The notion too is, that the holders of ecclesiastical dignities and emoluments were all dispossessed, and others, a set of intruders, forcibly put in their place; that a change was forced upon the church from without; that it was, as it were, invaded by an extraneous power, its existing authorities expelled, and a new constitution in an extraordinary, if not irregular way, imposed upon an unwilling people. Something like this is the light, in which the change at the Reformation is very often and by many habitually viewed. And doubtless any impression resembling this can hardly fail, when worked upon, to loosen the bonds of our attachment to a church so constituted, and to sap the very foundation of her authority. And so indeed has her great antagonist ever thought; for there is no point of attack, which that antagonist has taken with greater confidence, than this—that the Reformation substituted a new religion, stripped of their vested rights the existing ministers of the church; and together with a new set of doctrines, transferred to a new set of men all its powers, dignities, and emoluments.

But what, on the contrary, is the true representation of the change? That the church, in fact, continued uninterrupted, essentially and substantially the same, before and after the period in question, with the same orders still in its ministry, and the same form of ecclesiastical government unbroken. There was not only no suspension in the regular administration of authority, but the authority remained nearly in the same hands. The great body of the people continued to assemble in the same sanctuaries of worship, to be watched with few exceptions by the same shepherds, and to feed in the same pastures.”—*Sermon on The Claims of the Church of England upon her Members, by Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham College*, pp. 4, 5.

existing church, they sought to rid her of the abuses by which she was tainted. To do so, they repaired to the fountain head. Considering the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the infallible source of heavenly wisdom, to that they referred. With Christian humility they shrank from asserting their own infallibility. They presumed not to give their private interpretations to the holy mysteries contained in the sacred volume. What was plain, and had never been controverted, they at once adopted. In doubtful points, they sought, in the writings of the pure and primitive church, that truth which, when they had discovered, they sacrificed their lives to maintain.¹

Not content with throwing off the yoke of Rome, and protesting against the errors of the Papacy, they drew up confessions of faith "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent, touching true religion."² They maintained the Bible to be the sole rule of faith, and that nothing was to be believed, as necessary to salvation, which could not be proved thereby. They did not pretend, with the Foreign Reformers, that the Bible required no interpreter, and that each man was at liberty to go to the Bible and form his own rule of faith, but they inculcated that each was to believe what was contained in the Bible, according to the interpretation of the church, and of the writings of the holy fathers and martyrs of the first four centuries; which interpretation they embodied in the Ritual, Articles, Liturgy, and Formularies, with which they supplied their members.

That our church regards the Holy Scriptures as of paramount authority, that she considers them as the

¹ "Huic basi Reformationem Britannicam niti voluerit; ut Scripturis primæ, deinde primorum sæculorum Episcopis, Martyribus, Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis secundæ deferrentur." *H. Hammond, contra, D. Blondell, Dissert. Prima Proæm.* cap. xiv, § 13. p. 50. London, 1651.

² Preface to Thirty-nine Articles.

exclusive source of faith, are doctrinal points of vital importance. At the same time, it cannot be disputed, that she sedulously avails herself of the writings of the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles—not, indeed, to establish any new doctrine—but to assist in the right interpretation of God's word. To many whom I am now addressing, the fact is doubtless familiar; but lest the assertion that the church refers to the authority of the early fathers, should bear the appearance of advancing a novelty, we would call to recollection, that at the time our Thirty-nine Articles were first imposed, it was decreed that all heretical doctrine should be referred not only to the Bible, but to the decision of the first four general councils.¹

The truth is, that many, viewing with just abhorrence the miscalled tradition of the Church of Rome, and the errors springing therefrom, are disposed to call in question the deference our church pays to the early fathers. They interpret a veneration for antiquity into a wish to exalt tradition far beyond its proper boundary, and consider a reference to the writings of the early fathers, and to the practices of the primitive church, as tantamount with a desire to return to the errors of Romanism. That there are some chargeable with such errors cannot be denied, but it is to be hoped that they do not form a considerable portion of our body.

There is scarcely a subject now at issue, which has not, in some period of our church's history, more or less agitated the religious world:—perhaps none more so than the subject of tradition. In consequence of some few having exalted tradition to a joint rule of faith with the

¹ By the Statute of the First of Queen Elizabeth, it is enacted that no "matter or cause shall be determined or adjudged to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them."

Bible, many, from a dread of the errors which must naturally result therefrom, have been induced to declaim against even its lawful use. Thus, at present, the prevailing cry is against tradition. A similar opinion was frequently entertained, and as constantly repudiated, by the learned divines who wrote in the times in which it was advanced. By one party our church was contemptuously designated "the church of the traditioners,"¹ and an appeal to the fathers, and the citing of primitive usage, was called "the moving and summoning of hell."² By another she was charged with rejecting all tradition, "than which," says Bishop Patrick, "nothing is more false; we do receive traditions, it is a calumny to affirm that the Church of England rejects all tradition, and I hope," continues the same writer, "none of her true children are so ignorant, as when they hear that word, to imagine that they must rise up and oppose it."³ "We are innovators," exclaims Bishop Bull, in a style of irony, "we are innovators, because we lay down that the writings of the ancient doctors approved by the Catholic Church, and especially of those who lived nearer to the time of the apostles, should be diligently read with proper reverence by all. We are innovators, (for a strange reason indeed!) because, after the sacred Scripture, we regard and reverence early and pure antiquity, and advise others to follow its unanimous judgment wherever it can be found."⁴

It is the abuse, and not the use, of tradition that our church has cause to fear. With the immortal Chillingworth we would maintain, that "whosoever doth with sincerity follow the ancient fathers, it is utterly impossible

¹ *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. ii, p. 284. Oxford, 1821.

² *Principles and Results of the Reformation*, by the Rev. J. Worgan, p. 11. London, 1843.

³ *Bishop Patrick's Discourse about Tradition*, p. 16, et sequi.

⁴ *Bishop Bull on Justification*, part iii, p. 230, 231.

he should be a Papist.”¹ Did we resemble the pure and pentecostal age of the church of Christ, when “the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul.”² Were the minds of men all cast in the same mould. Were they so constituted that no difference of opinion could arise in the interpretation of the sacred text—then, indeed, would there be no need for aid to guide us in the right understanding of those divine oracles, indited by the Holy Ghost, and contained in the New Testament.³ “But the Holy Scripture,” says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, “hath so many interpretations, and various sounds and seemings, and we are so prepossessed and predetermined to misconstruction by false prophets without, and prevailing passions within, that though it be in itself sufficient, yet it is not so for us, and we may say with the eunuch, ‘How can I understand unless some man guide me?’ And indeed, in St. Paul’s epistles, ‘there are many things hard to be understood,’ and, in many other places, we find that the well is deep, and unless there be some to help us to

¹ *Chillingworth’s Works*, tenth edition, folio, p. 20. London, 1742.

² Acts iv, 32.

³ “Scripture,” says Mr. Palmer, in his *Treatise on the Church*, “ought to be of itself sufficient for the overthrow of all errors against faith; but since men are liable to be misled, by the evil interpretation of others, to misunderstand the divine meaning of scripture, the doctrine or tradition of Christians in all ages, i.e. of the Catholic Church, is presented to us as a confirmation of the true meaning of scripture. It is not meant that this tradition conveys to us the exact interpretation of all the particular texts in the Bible. Its utility is of a simpler and more general character; it relates to the interpretation of scripture as a whole, to the doctrine deduced from it in general. That doctrine which claims to be deduced from scripture, and which all Christians believed from the beginning, must be truly scriptural. That doctrine which claims to be deduced from scripture, and which all the church from the beginning reprobated and abhorred, must be founded on a perversion and misrepresentation of scripture.” Vol. ii, pp. 34, 35, third edition.

draw out the latent senses of it, our souls will not be filled with the waters of salvation.”¹

The question then arises, to what source should our church refer? to what authority address herself for assistance in interpreting passages of scripture “hard to be understood?”² Those holy fathers to whom the Bible was first intrusted—those noble martyrs who were sent as missionaries to propagate the religion of the blessed Jesus—men, who, living nearest to the times of the apostles, were the best interpreters of their sentiments upon every point of doctrine or government of the church:—these are the authorities to which our church has recourse in all doubtful matters. Whatever they taught, capable of being proved by the Bible, she recognizes as a doctrine of religion. In short, the appeal is to the Catholic Church, but its interpretation is merely received with respect to doctrines “in which all Christians always have consented,” and which may be proved by the Bible. The appeal is limited to a brief period; for no sooner was the spirit of truth opposed by the spirit of error, than unhappily the spirit of peace was disordered by that of division; and thus, ere five centuries had rolled over the Christian world, the entirety of the church was destroyed.

In maintaining, then, the use of tradition, we do not under-rate the Holy Scriptures; we do not exalt tradition to a joint rule of faith with the Bible; nor do we defer to tradition any further than what it advances may be proved by Holy Writ. We know, as Ridley tells us, “the Fathers have both herbs and weeds,”³ and we would adopt his rule with respect to the reverence we should pay to them. “What is to be said of the fathers? How are

¹ *Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Sermons*, vol. ii, p. 508. London, 1826.

² Peter iii, 16.

³ *Ridley's Works*, p. 114, published by Parker Society.

they to be esteemed? St. Augustine answereth, giving this rule also; that we should not therefore think it true, because they say so, do they never so much excel in holiness or learning; but if they be able to prove their saying by the canonical scriptures, or by good probable reason; meaning that to be a probable reason, as I think," continues Ridley, "which doth orderly follow upon a right collection and gathering out of the Scriptures."¹ In such cases only do we allow the writings of the primitive church to be of any authority. Cases in which they refer us back to those Holy Scriptures which were given by inspiration of God, that we might have surer footing for our faith than mere tradition. For as Stillingfleet truly observes, "All those things which concern the terms of man's salvation, are delivered with the greatest evidence and perspicuity. Who cannot understand what these things mean? 'What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' that 'without faith it is impossible to please God;' that 'without holiness none shall see the Lord;' that 'unless we be born again, we can never enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" "These and such like things," continues the same authority, "are so plain and clear, that it is nothing but men's shutting their eyes against the light can keep them from understanding."² So full, so clear, is the Bible in all things absolutely necessary for salvation, that tradition can add nothing to its completeness. It does, however, aid us in matters of which, had we been ignorant, our rule of faith would nevertheless have been sufficient.

On Vincentius's rule of "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ad omnibus traditum est*," we receive the creeds, our ecclesi-

¹ *Ridley's Works*, p. 114, published by Parker Society.

² *Stillingfleet's Origines Sacre*, p. 414, seventh edition. 1702.

astical government, and external forms of worship and liturgy.

“Every one who is not a mere novice in the history of our church,” observes Bishop Bull, “must know that our Reformation was in all respects conformed to the example of the ancient Church Catholic; that is, so far as it was possible, and the age would allow. Hence the order of bishops was retained in England. Hence forms of public prayer, rites, and ceremonies, all of them most ancient, have been religiously observed amongst us. Hence certain ancient doctrines, such as universal propitiation through Christ our Saviour, defectibility of justifying faith, of the eternal salvation of all infants born of Christian parents, and sealed by holy baptism, who may afterwards die without having committed actual sin, all these have been fixed and established amongst us; so that even from the original constitution of our reformed church, her sons may learn how much deference they ought to pay to the judgment of the ancient Catholic Church.”¹

Thus it is clear that we do receive tradition; not as a *divine* authority, but as a valuable human testimony; and that while we justly claim for the foundation of our church “the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone,”² while we base our foundation upon the Bible, we hold as subordinate thereto the universal tradition of the Catholic and Apostolic Church: a doctrine fully borne out by that noble army of martyrs whose blood was shed to cement the building of our Zion.

Cranmer writes thus: “As for me, I ground my belief upon God’s word, wherein can be no error: having also the consent of the primitive church, requiring no man to believe me further than I have God’s word.”³ “I protest

¹ *Bull on Justification* part iii, p. 231.

² Eph. ii, 20.

³ *Remains of Abp. Cranmer*, by Jenkyns, vol. iii, p. 3. pub. 1833.

that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church."¹ "I protest and openly declare, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things as the Catholic Church, and the most holy fathers of old, with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words; but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their traditions upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation."² And while "he thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith, which ought to take place in all controversies of religion, he acknowledged when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of scripture, he looked on that as flowing from the spirit of God."³

Ridley, too, declares his adherence to "the wise counsel of Vincentius Lirinensis," who, giving precepts how the Catholic Church, in all schisms and heresies, may be known, tells us, that "when one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world to that one part; but if the greater part be infected, then prefer antiquity." "In like sort now," says Ridley, "when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive

¹ *Remains of Archbishop Crammer*, by Jenkyns, vol. iii, pp. 126, 127.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 127.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 14.

church.”¹ Again, he tells us, that he “prefers the antiquity of the primitive Church, before the novelty of the Church of Rome.” And when this holy martyr stood before the fanatics who condemned him to the stake, he invariably founded his defence upon the Bible and the testimony of the early fathers.

Thus also Latimer affirmed, that he “never advanced any thing but what was agreeable to Holy Scripture and the Catholic faith.”²

And such too is the teaching of one and all of the pillars of our Reformed Church.

Let us then pause, ere we brand with the name of Popery, the antiquity of the early church. Let us beware how we decry the appeal which has been made to antiquity: an appeal which, if but duly carried out and rightly guided, can but terminate in an increased love and veneration for that pure and reformed part of Christ’s Church established in this kingdom. Nor let it be deemed that, in so doing, we are deviating from the principles of the Reformation, or that we are searching for information from sources discountenanced by our church, or by that book to whose unerring authority we appeal—by that sacred volume in which we are enjoined to “prove all things,” and to “hold fast that which is good.” Sure I am, the deeper we search into antiquity, the greater confirmation we shall obtain of the divine origin of the Church of England, and that she is indeed a true branch of the Church of Christ; that while she has rejected what Ridley emphatically calls “the novelty of the Church of Rome,” she has retained within her bosom the pure doctrine and primitive worship of the apostolic times.

That our illustrious Reformers deferred to antiquity, no one

¹ *Gloucester Ridley’s Life of Bishop Ridley*, pp. 613, 614.

² *Collier*, ii, p. 277.

acquainted with their writings can deny,¹ and that our church has ever since followed their example seems equally clear.

In 1571, when our Thirty-nine Articles were last revised, and preachers required to subscribe them, they were also directed to “teach nothing to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which was agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament; and that which the Catholic fathers or ancient bishops had collected from that very doctrine;”² an injunction which was sanctioned by a full provincial synod, and further confirmed by the royal authority of Elizabeth. Again, in the reign of her successor, an order, with the advice of the bishops, was issued to the heads of the university of Oxford, that theological candidates be admonished to give their labour and study to books of a nature most consonant with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: that is, to employ their time in reading the fathers, councils, scholastic writers, ecclesiastical historians, and polemical divines.³

It is true, that these orders and injunctions are not binding upon us in the present day: they are but advanced to show the feelings which at different periods have influenced the governors of the Reformed Church. But no less strong shall we find those formularies to the soundness of which we solemnly pledge our belief.

Thus, in the preface to our Prayer Book, we are directed

¹ “It was indeed,” says Dr. Hawkins, “an instance of singular moderation, in those who had just perceived the whole stupendous error of the Romish Church, respecting their traditions, (so similar in all its character to that of the Pharisees of old,) that they should draw the true boundary line between the provinces of authoritative proofs, and the unauthoritative transmission of doctrines; that they should still allow its full practical use and value to fallible tradition.”—*Dr. Hawkins’ Dissertation on the Use and Importance of Unauthoritative Tradition*, p. 54, 1819.

² *Wilkins Concilia Magnæ Britannicæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iv, p. 267.

³ *King James’ Instructions*, Jan. 18th, 1616.

“to search out by the fathers,” for “the original of divine service;” and we are told that what is set forth in that book, is “much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers.”

In our homilies frequent reference, in confirmation of the doctrine they inculcate, is made to the practice of the primitive church, and to “the holy fathers, and most ancient learned doctors” of that church.¹

In our canons, “the holy and religious example of the ancient fathers,” and “the practice of the primitive church,” are advanced in maintenance of various orders therein enjoined.

Even in our Articles, which may be considered as a protest against the errors of the Roman Catholics, no statement can be advanced as intended to repudiate a reference to antiquity. On the contrary, the Sixth Article, which has, I am aware, been thought to countenance such an opinion, merely tells us, that no doctrine is of necessity to be received, which cannot be proved by the infallible authority of the Bible, in opposition to the Romanist’s notion, that the word of God consists of tradition as well as of Scripture.²

¹ The Catholic fathers and ancient bishops are spoken of, in different homilies, as “godly preachers,” “learned doctors,” “great clerks,” and “holy bishops.”

“The homilies,” says the Rev. E. Bickersteth, “abound in references to the fathers, and make good use of them as witnesses to the truth; particularly Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Clement, Cyprian, Gregory, Jerome, Lactantius, Origen, and Tertullian.—*Note T, to the Rev. E. Bickersteth’s Sermon in aid of the Prayer Book and Homily Society*, 1841, 1842, p. 41.

² Mr. Palmer, in his *Treatise on the Church*, denies that “the Church of England rejects tradition by her Sixth Article of religion,” and says, “it is manifest that her object is simply to maintain the necessity of scriptural proof for articles of faith; while our canons, our ritual, and the whole body of our theologians, have so notoriously upheld the authority of tradition, that it is a subject of universal

It is true, that, generally speaking, we, in our ministerial capacity, have no need to refer to antiquity. Our ritual, liturgy, articles, and formularies contain all that is essential of the traditional teaching of the universal church, and we are bound by the most solemn vows to defer to them in our interpretation of Scripture. But we may refer to tradition as a venerable witness in confirmation of the truths which they enjoin. We may refer to tradition as a useful assistant in explaining such matters upon which our articles and formularies appear not to have spoken with sufficient authority, or upon which members of our church are themselves divided. We may also refer to tradition as a valuable confirmation of the scriptural view taken by our church, with respect to the sacrament of Baptism, and of the Lord's Supper, the observance of the first day of the week, instead of the Sabbath day, and of the rites and ceremonies of our divine worship.¹ God forbid! that we

complaint on the part of those who disbelieve the doctrines of the church."—Vol. ii, pp. 45, 46.

"It has been objected," says Dr. Waterland, "that our Sixth Article condemns the method of interpreting Scripture by antiquity, or at least supercedes it; because it says, 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary, &c.' The Article says nothing but what is perfectly right, and perfectly consistent with all we have been pleading for. We allow no doctrine as necessary, which stands only on fathers, or on tradition, oral or written; we admit none for such, but what is contained in Scripture, and proved by Scripture, rightly interpreted. And we know of no way more safe in necessities to preserve the right interpretation, than to take the ancients along with us. We think it a good method to secure our rule of faith, against impostures of all kinds, whether of enthusiaism, or false criticism, or conceited reason, or oral tradition, or the assuming dictates of an infallible chair. If we thus preserve the true sense of Scripture, and upon that sense build our faith, we then build upon Scripture only, for the sense of Scripture is Scripture."—*Waterland's Works*, vol. 5, p. 300.

¹ "We would pay to tradition a willing and grateful deference, not as superseding inquiry, but inviting it; not as having dominion over our faith, but as the helper of our joy; not as the mistress of Scripture, but her handmaid."—*Hawkins' Bampton Lectures*, pp. 210, 211.

should give to primitive antiquity equal authority with the Bible. No, that blessed book is all-sufficient, and contains every thing necessary to salvation, and, searched humbly and prayerfully, needs, in its most important doctrines, no

“The respect we pay to the fathers is thus clearly expressed by Dr. Sherlock: “We think it a great confirmation of our faith, that the fathers in the first and best ages, believed the same doctrines, and expounded the scriptures, in great and important points, much to the same sense as we do, and therefore we refuse not to appeal to them; but yet we do not build our faith on their authority, we forsake them whenever they forsake the scriptures, or put perverse senses on them.” —*Barwick's Treatise on the Church*, p. 349. Second edition, 1813.

The Rev. E. Bickersteth, in a sermon in aid of the Prayer Book and Homily Society, preached in 1842, thus gives his valuable testimony to the use and worth of the fathers: “Let us abide stedfast in old truths; in the doctrine of Prophets and Apostles, Fathers and Reformers. Old errors continually arise afresh, and have to be met by old truths, and by the growing testimony to those truths from age to age. We must not be tempted even by the mistakes of the servants of Christ, either among the Fathers or the Reformers, to the despising of their testimony to the truth; as the Reformers had to struggle through all the corruptions of Popery, so the Fathers had to contend with all the opposing elements of Paganism and false philosophy; to maintain, amidst their mighty enemies, in their fullest pride of human power and glory, the gospel of Christ, and to hand it down to us; and nobly they fulfilled their work, many of them sealing it with their blood. Real learning, in every school of the church, will be turned by the spiritual mind to good. I rejoice then that fresh attention is paid to the Fathers, and yet more that a vastly increased attention is paid to a still purer school of divine truth—the Reformers.” pp. 21, 22. “If we have not some of the follies of the Fathers, have we their reverence for God and his word; their dread of the responsibility of the ministry; their deep spiritual feeling, their burning love to Christ, and their deadness to the world? Many a profitable lesson might we in these days learn, by the holiness, heavenly mindedness, and earnestness, the noble sacrifices, and the largeness of heart, of by gone ages. Can we look on our parish churches, our endowed livings, our country apportioned with a then adequate provision for its religious instruction, and not discern in our now overgrown parishes, and neglected population, and present totally inadequate means, that we are deficient in that zeal for God, however alloyed by ignorance, which, even in the dark ages, distinguished our forefathers.” p. 34.

interpreter. All I would maintain is, if Bishop Jewell's statement be true—and who can doubt it?—that “we are come as near as we possibly could to the church of the apostles, and of the old Catholic bishops and fathers, and have directed according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments and the form of common prayer,”¹—then, I maintain, that if we would prove all things connected with our Zion, we must refer, not only to the Bible, but to primitive antiquity:—to the “Catholic bishops” and to “the holy fathers,” from whom we have inherited our doctrine and forms of worship.

Instead of joining in the cry against tradition, let us uphold a due reverence for antiquity, lest we find, too late, that we have deprived ourselves of an important witness; that we have abandoned a means by which we can defend our adherence and subscription to the formularies of our church, which, if they rested on no firmer ground than the pious wisdom of our Protestant Reformers, (however much we might reverence these holy men,) might well be called in question by those, who, rejecting all aid in the interpretation of the Bible, differ from us not only in our apostolic form of government, but also as to the doctrine which we teach.

Tradition or antiquity, for both terms mean the same thing, has indeed been too frequently abused; but, in the words of our 30th canon, “the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it.” And who can declaim against antiquity or tradition, when they open the leaves of our scriptural and fondly-loved Prayer Book;—a book, as near perfection as the erring mind of man could make it:—a book, compiled and revised by those who had witnessed the bigoted superstition of the Romanist, and the fanatical excesses of the Puritan. There, in every page, pure, primitive, holy,

¹ *Jewell's Apology*, p. 156. edition 1606.

Christian antiquity is evident; there are the three creeds for which the early church wrestled, and which it succeeded in establishing; there are the prayers which holy men of old breathed before the altar of their God; there is the dying song of praise into which the aged Simeon broke when he first beheld "the light to lighten the Gentiles;"¹ there are the prayers which flowed from the hearts of holy saints and fathers, whose pure spirits, washed in the blood of a crucified Redeemer, are now, we trust, in Paradise; there too is the form of sound words which burst from the lips of our own noble martyrs and reformers, ere they yielded up their spirit amidst the flames, which ignorance, bigotry, and superstition had lighted; there too stand recorded, as a testimony of the church's reverence for the primitive fathers, the names of Chrysostom and Athanasius; there too are the forms of prayer, derived from the early Christians, which have been in use in our church for more than twelve hundred years.² And, ever be it remembered, that this is the book "to all and every thing contained and prescribed in which," we have publicly and solemnly "declared our unfeigned assent and consent," and pledged ourselves to conform. Oh! let us be true to our engagements, true to our ordination vows; let us cherish, let us guard this treasure from the innovations of a restless age, that our children and children's children, whom we fondly hope may worship in the same temples, and be members of the same church with ourselves, may not have occasion to say, "the gold of her clothing, how is it become dim! and the most fine gold, how is it changed!"³ Let not the fact that some of the prayers and ceremonies which it retains, are still in use in the Roman Church, induce us to cast a suspicious eye on the pure and primitive practices

¹ Luke ii, 32.

² *Wheatly on the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 197. Oxford, 1839.

³ Lam. iv, 1.

which it enjoins; nor let us deem that by adding to, or obliterating from, its sacred pages, we can make more perfect that book, which, next to the Bible, many of the best and wisest of our fathers have been content to receive as their guide from the cradle to the grave.

So long as we possess our Prayer Book whole and entire, so long will it be to our church an invaluable barrier against the errors and speculations of innovating ages; so long will our church stand firm against all assaults, come they from within or from without: but once disturb its fair proportions, or with additions or devices impair its beauty; once doubt the sufficiency of its ceremonies; once look with distrustful eyes upon its limited contents as compared to the voluminous missal; once turn from its pure services to Almighty God, and think them cold and few; once deem the simple melody of holy David's song of praise too weak and low; the services of the church powerless and vain; her ordinances insufficient, and her regulations requiring improvement—and "*Ichabod* may *indeed* be written on our churches, for the glory will *then* have departed." Oh! let us stand by our church and preserve her as she is; in all her purity, in all her fulness; and let not the fear of abused and miscalled tradition suffer one holy practice, one pure primitive custom to be torn from her.

If we revere our church, and would uphold her in that state in which she has been handed down to us; if we would save her from anarchy and confusion, from rationalism as well as superstition; if we would have any fixed faith, any established order, any church communion whatever; if we would avoid infidelity and indifference; if we would cherish the purity of Catholic faith and church government; if we would maintain perfect union and concord amongst the brethren;—in short, if we love the Reformation and the principles of the Reformation, let us uphold our church

as she is, and adhere to the interpretation of the Scriptures as confirmed by the united judgment of Christians in all ages, as received by our church, and embodied in her Articles, Homilies, and Prayer Book.

Let, too, these bulwarks of our Zion be scrupulously and religiously preserved. Let not any heads less wise, nor hands less hallowed, than those of our venerable Reformers, attempt the alteration or addition of aught within our Zion. Let her ministers be but faithful to their charge. Let them “prove all things” and “hold fast that which is good,” and by their life and doctrine show themselves to be true sons of the Reformation, zealous ministers of the gospel of Christ, “approved unto God, workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth:”¹—then will our Zion “rejoice, and blossom as the rose:”²—then will her “children arise up, and call her blessed.”³

¹ 2 Tim. ii, 15.

² Isaiah xxxv, 1.

³ Proverbs xxxi, 28.

THE END.

W. M. Jones. Ser.
from the Author.
A. SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

PARISH CHURCH OF LITTLE WALSINGHAM,

ON

FRIDAY, APRIL THE 19TH, 1844,

AT THE VISITATION OF

THE VEN. HENRY BATHURST,

ARCHDEACON OF NORWICH.

BY

THE HON. AND REV. THOMAS KEPPEL,

RECTOR OF WARHAM ST. MARY, CUM WATERDEN.

NORWICH:

JOSIAH FLETCHER, UPPER HAYMARKET.

LONDON: J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON.

1844.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

PARISH CHURCH OF LITTLE WALSINGHAM,

ON

FRIDAY, APRIL THE 19TH, 1844,

AT THE VISITATION OF

THE VEN. HENRY BATHURST,

ARCHDEACON OF NORWICH.

BY

THE HON. AND REV. THOMAS KEPPEL,

RECTOR OF WARHAM ST. MARY, CUM WATERDEN.

NORWICH:

JOSIAH FLETCHER, UPPER HAYMARKET.

LONDON: J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON.

1844.



A SERMON.

1 TIMOTHY IV, 16.

“Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine.”

To an assembly like the present, it would be unnecessary to prove, that the doctrine to which St. Paul exhorts Timothy to “take heed,” has been preserved in all its native purity in that Apostolic Church of which we are members. There was a time when the dark clouds of ignorance and superstition obscured this doctrine; but, in the sixteenth century, when the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome had cast over the land their deepest gloom, the day break of the glorious Reformation dawned upon us; a part of the Catholic and Apostolic Church was brought back to its primitive purity, retaining the doctrine committed by St. Paul to Timothy, guarded by a Ritual and Liturgy, the greater part of which can be traced back to the Apostolic age. Thus has the doctrine recommended to Timothy’s care been transmitted to us.

There is much in the present state of the church of Christ established in England, to fill the minds of its ministers with anxiety, and of its lay members with doubt, hesitation, and alarm. A love of novelty, an anxiety for alteration, an earnest desire for a restoration of primitive discipline, and a searching inquiry into the writings of the early Fathers,

opposed by an absorbing dread of superstition and formality, have given rise to theological discussion. A stirring movement has in consequence been made; a crisis has arrived, "on the issue" of which, we are told, "hangs the destiny of our Church."¹ If such be the case, if such be the tremendous stake dependent on the right or wrong guiding of that spirit of inquiry, which has been aroused within the pale of our Church, how imperatively does it call for increased vigilance and activity, on the part of every member of our Church, but more especially upon those who are set as watchmen upon Zion's walls, warning them to "take heed unto themselves, and unto the doctrine."

Within the bosom of our Church, two parties are to be found, each professing the same objects, the honour and glory of God, and the happiness and salvation of man. The one, stimulated by an ardent zeal for ecclesiastical order and discipline; the other, by an absorbing dread of superstition and formality. Both run into extremes. The one making too close an approach to the errors of Romanism, the other tending towards a spirit of Puritanism. While the one would seek for a more spiritual standard of divinity in the writings of the early Fathers of the Catholic Church, and in the records of men of other climes and days, the other professes to adhere to the religion of the Reformers. While the one would fondly regard the rites and ceremonies of our Church, as of essential importance, and as necessary parts of divine worship, the other would consider a scrupulous attention to ancient usages as tending to Romanism. While the one party is charged with an attempt to bring all men's minds into subjection to the Church, and—if we may be allowed the expression—to *un-church*, and *un-christianize*, all who

¹ *Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 70. Third edition.

are not actual members of an Apostolic Establishment; the other is denounced as advocating an unlimited right of private judgment, and as setting at naught ecclesiastical distinction, established order, and constituted authority. While the one would exalt tradition to a joint rule of faith with the Bible itself, the other would reject all tradition. While the one party would deery our venerable Reformers as not being sufficiently Catholic, the other, although professing to venerate them, consider them as men recently emancipated from the errors of Romanism, and consequently look with a jealous eye upon their doctrines and formularies of worship, as tending more to Popery than is consistent with the boasted piety, wisdom, and experience of modern days. While the one would exalt the sacraments into *conditions* of salvation, and regard them with superstitious reverence, the other would depreciate them into mere memorials, and all but reject them as *means* of salvation.

The causes of this diversity of opinion seem to have arisen from a desire to restore the proper discipline of the Church; to bring it back, as far as possible, both as respects doctrine and practice, to the purity and holiness of the primitive ages; and to call the attention of the clergy to a more scrupulous performance of divine worship, according to the formularies of the Church. But, in the endeavour to give effect to these very laudable objects, new doctrines have been taught, and obsolete forms of worship have been introduced. The consequence has been, that many pious sons of the Reformation have, from an apprehension of being thought to countenance the errors with which some of the advocates for a strict observance of the Rubric may be charged, been deterred from a conformity with the rules and outward discipline of the Church. And, my reverend brethren, much does it behove us, as ministers of the gospel, and members of the Church of England, to take

heed to ourselves, lest, while we profess our dread of all superstition and formality, we fall into the opposite extreme of neglecting the observances used by the Church of old, and sanctioned by our judicious Reformers. While we contemplate with apprehension the evil which has been wrought in one direction, let us not overlook the real good which has been effected in another. "Many," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "to secure a true opinion, neglect a good practice." "Of external forms of worship," continues the same excellent authority, "which too many refuse, because they pretend that many who use them, rest in them, and pass no further: you cannot without uncharitableness suppose it true of very many. But if others do ill, do not you do so too; and leave not out the external forms for fear of formality, but join the inward power of godliness. Remember, that profaneness is commonly something that is external; and he is a profane person who neglects the exterior part of religion; and this is so vile a crime, that hypocrisy, while it is undiscovered, is not so much mischievous as open profaneness, or a neglect and contempt of external religion. Do not despise external religion, because it may be sincere, and do not rely upon it wholly, because it may be counterfeit; but do you preach both and practice both."¹ Thus wrote this distinguished man two hundred years ago; and surely, my reverend brethren, there is in the passage I have now quoted, much sound, practical, advice, well adapted for the ministers of the gospel in the present day.

A somewhat similar sentiment has recently been expressed by an overseer of our Church. "Every clergyman," says the Bishop of London, "is bound by the plainest obligations of duty, to obey the directions of the

¹ *Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Sermons*, vol. ii, pp. 526, 527. London, 1826.

Rubric; nor ought we to be deterred from a scrupulous observance of the rites and customs, prescribed or sanctioned by our Church, from a dread of being thought too careful about the externals of religion.”¹

But while I would advocate a strict conformity to our Liturgy, it is the spirit, as well as the letter of the Rubric, which I conceive should be our guide. To such things as are clearly defined, and have a tendency to godliness, I would scrupulously adhere; with respect to such as are doubtful, I would follow the practice which the custom of three hundred years has stamped with its sanction. It cannot be denied that much of the discipline of our Church was allowed to slumber in the eighteenth century. And much judgment is needed in its restoration; for there is danger lest, in the introduction of customs, which time has in a measure rendered obsolete, we “put a stumbling block or an occasion to fall in our brother’s way.”² To illustrate my meaning, take for example, the setting two lights on the altar. This was plainly permitted, by authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. Hence, they who have adopted this custom, have, I doubt not, been actuated by a conscientious desire to comply with the letter of the Rubric, which enjoins that all “such ornaments shall be retained, and be in use as were in this Church of England, by the authority of parliament, in the second year of Edward VI.” But it may fairly be questioned, whether in so complying they act in conformity with the spirit of our Reformers, in whose time it was not generally adopted, and one at least of whom, even the blessed martyr Ridley, who, as Wheatly tells us, “was the ablest man of all that advanced the Reformation, for piety,

¹ *Bishop of London’s Charge*, 1842, p. 30. Third edition.

² Romans xiv, 13.

learning, and solidity of judgment,"¹ expressly prohibited the clergy of the diocese of London, from "counterfeiting the Popish mass, in setting any light on the Lord's board,"² And it also appears, that previous to King Edward's Prayer Book being ratified, it was ordered (by royal authority) "that all persons omit in the reading of the injunctions such as make mention of candles upon the altar."³ If such conduct on the part of our Reformers, and of the compilers—one of whom was Ridley—of that book in which this custom was sanctioned, appear strange or inconsistent, it should be remembered, that, as their object was not to introduce a new religion or a new form of worship, but merely to purge the existing one from all corruptions, they proceeded gradually, according as the temper of the times would permit. The Act of Parliament which abolished candles in churches, did but "suffer two lights to remain upon the high altar before the sacrament." "They were but *suffered*," observes a learned writer of the present day, "out of consideration for the feelings of the people who had been used to see lights in their Churches, to *remain* in places where they had previously been."⁴ And "a permission that they may remain, is not an order that they shall be set up where they were not before."⁵

¹ *Wheatly on the Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford edition p. 24.

² *Ridley's Works*, published by Parker Society, p. 319. Mr. Robertson, in his work on the Liturgy, is of opinion that this order related merely to "candles lighted at consecration," p. 57. The use of lights was however only sanctioned "upon the High Altar, before the Sacrament," (Injunctions, p. 2, 1547,) and by "the Sacrament" was meant the consecrated wafer suspended in a pyx over the altar, which, when Ridley gave the order referred to, had been prohibited.—*Mr. Robertson's How to Conform to the Liturgy*, p. 55, et sequi. Also *Brit. Mag.* October, 1841.

³ *Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, vol. i, p. 63.

⁴ *How to Conform to the Liturgy*, by J. C. Robertson, p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 139.

The high altar has been removed, and with it the symbolical light.

All I would contend for, is a compliance with the rites and forms which are clearly ordained and have generally prevailed in our Reformed Church, and that with respect to any obsolete practices, however pious and edifying they may be, which are not prescribed in our Prayer Book, we have not the shadow of an authority, unless directed by "our ordinary and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over us."¹ While then endeavouring to perform our duty in simple obedience to the Rubric, and in general attention to the discipline of our Church, let us beware on the one hand of considering with the Romanist outward observances as of spiritual efficacy, and on the other of that Puritanical spirit, which would induce us to disregard those pious institutions of the Primitive Church, which have been wisely retained in our own.² But rather let us strictly adhere to the spirit and religion of our Reformers, which is in fact the spirit and religion of the gospel, and thus prove ourselves firm and consistent members of the Church of England, ready to confute, by our life and doctrine, those who sigh for something better than the pure and scriptural worship of the Protestant Church, and who not only deery our Cranmers, our Ridleys, and our Latimers, but would introduce doctrinal errors repudiated at the Reformation.

With such views entertained by members of our establishment, how loudly do the words of St. Paul address

¹ Ordering of Priests.

² "This ought we greatly to praise God for, that such superstitious and idolatrous manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved, and yet those things that either God was honoured with, or his people edified by, are decently retained, and in our Church comely practised." *Second Part of Homily of Place and Time of Prayer.*

themselves to each individual of the ministry, to “take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine.” And how incumbent is it upon us, my reverend brethren, faithfully and zealously to uphold that faith which was once delivered to the saints,¹ and to shew by our teaching and manner of living, that while we regard the forms and ceremonies of worship as outward means, as helps to devotion, as duties which ought not to be left undone, we consider the doctrine which we preach as the life-blood of the Christian ministry, and without a due regard to which, we shall sink into the awful state of those scribes and pharisees, whom our blessed Lord himself denounced as hypocrites; we shall become “as sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal;”² we shall have a form of godliness without its power.

Let us then, my reverend brethren, while we uphold the high tone of spiritual devotion which pervades our public worship—let us clearly define and zealously maintain that doctrine which St. Paul committed to Timothy, and to which he so earnestly and energetically warns him to take heed; that doctrine which has ever marked the branch of Christ’s Apostolic Church to which we belong. Seldom have the principles of the Church of Rome been more openly and systematically advocated, than in the present times, and hence the necessity of the admonition of our text. “Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine.” Let us then take heed that we introduce no superstitious ceremonies into our Church. Let us take heed that we adhere to that form of sound words contained in our Book of Common Prayer. Above all, let us take heed to what we preach, that we fall not into the errors of the Romanist. Let us “take heed unto the doctrine.”

And where are we to seek for this doctrine? It is to be found in those bulwarks of our Church, the Thirty-nine

¹ Jude 3.

² 1 Cor. xiii, 1.

Articles, the Homilies, and the Book of Common Prayer. But the fountain head whence they flow is still open to us. The Bible, that ever blessed book, which Chillingworth, after his conversion from Popery by Archbishop Laud,¹ so energetically declared to be the religion of Protestants, is the source from which our Church proves her divine origin, to which she appeals for the truth and purity of the doctrines she inculcates, and to which she refers as her teacher and defender. It is here we must take our stand, on the written word of God, whose heavenly origin is established by such multifarious proofs, and which we are strictly forbidden to add to, or to diminish from. Ever bearing in mind, that Holy Scripture hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, "and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works;"² that it is "the sure word of prophecy, unto which we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in our hearts;"³ and Christ be revealed a second time without a sin offering unto salvation to them that believe;⁴ that it is the source whence we must continue to receive instruction, and to draw pure water from the wells of salvation.

It is here that we are furnished with the most effectual instrument for convincing and converting the sinner, as well as for building up and establishing the godly in faith—for rousing the heedless, as well as for calming the troubled spirit. It is here that we obtain that knowledge which is able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. It is here we learn that

¹ *De Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth*, p. 12.

² 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17.

³ 2 Peter, i, 19.

⁴ Heb. ix, 28.

man was created in the image of God, holy and happy; that he speedily fell from his first estate, and brought sin and death into the world; that all mankind, inheriting the nature of their first parent, became guilty before God, and sunk into a state of moral and spiritual degradation; that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; that repentance and faith in Christ are the grounds, the only grounds, of man's salvation.

But while we maintain the Holy Scriptures to be the great standard of our faith, the primary and exclusive source of pure and unadulterated truth; while we justly make our boast that our Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone,"¹ and that our doctrine is to be proved by the Bible, and the Bible alone, which "containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation,"² we must bear in mind that there is scarcely a heresy upon record, which has not been attempted to be maintained by quotations from Scripture; and that as in St. Peter's time, there were some who wrested the Scriptures to their own destruction,³ so in our own time we find many, even excellent and pious men, who have drawn contradictory inferences from the same passages of Scripture. Wisely foreseeing so grievous a source of disunion, our judicious Reformers, considering the Protestant Church as a keeper and witness of holy writ, provided her members with a rule of faith. In so doing, they deeply considered what doctrines had been abused by superstition, and also how to prevent such abuses for the future. The authority they consulted was that of the Primitive Church,

¹ Eph. ii, 20.

² Article VI.

³ 2 Peter iii, 16.

and the writings of the ancient Fathers; these they tested by the Bible, and the result of their labours produced those Articles and Homilies, in which the great and leading doctrines contained in the Bible—the saving and fundamental truths of the gospel—are fully stated and clearly defined; and that scriptural Prayer Book, in which they are brought into practice and made available for every day use. And when, on his bended knees, the minister of the gospel receives from the hands of his ecclesiastical superior the Holy Bible, and with it “authority to preach the word of God,” he cannot preach that word but in accordance with the doctrines contained in the formularies of his Church; doctrines which his presence there implies, that he has previously discovered and acknowledged to be in agreement with the paramount authority of Scripture.

Our duty is plain. As members of the Established Church, we must adhere to the doctrine which she teaches. As ministers of Christ, having “the glorious gospel committed to our trust,”¹ we are bound to “hold it fast,” and in “the form of sound words”² wherein it was delivered. We are bound as “ambassadors of Christ,”³ to approve “ourselves as ministers of God,”⁴ and to fulfil “the ministry of the word;”⁵ as watchmen “to watch for souls, as they that must give an account”⁶ thereof, and to feed “the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers;”⁷ to “labour in” administering “the word and doctrine,” and “the faith once delivered to the saints,”⁸ and by sound doctrine to stop the mouths of “vain talkers and deceivers.”⁹ Thus will the souls committed to our charge be led to “approve themselves” in the midst of “heresies,” by being stedfast in the truth. Thus will they be secured from

¹ 1 Tim. i, 11.² 2 Tim. i, 13.³ 2 Cor. v, 20.⁴ 2 Cor. vi, 4.⁵ Acts iv, 4.⁶ Heb. xiii, 17.⁷ Acts xx, 28.⁸ 1 Tim. v, 17; Jude 3.⁹ Titus i, 10.

being “tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine,”¹ by means of “false Christs and false prophets who shall arise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.”²

But, my reverend brethren, this is not all that is required of us. We may be scrupulously attentive to the decent and orderly conduct of our ministerial duties; we may preach the pure and unadulterated doctrine of the gospel—the truth as it is in Jesus; our performance of public worship may be faultless, and yet, if our life do not correspond with that which we preach, we shall look in vain for the fruit of our labours.

St. Paul bids Timothy to “take heed” not only unto the doctrine but unto himself. And woe be to us if we do not take heed. “The main support of piety and morals,” says Archbishop Secker, “consists in the parochial labours of the clergy. If our country is to be preserved from utter profligacy and ruin, it must be by our means; and take notice, we cannot lose our influence, but, in a great measure, by our own fault. If we look on what we are apt to call our livings only as our livelihoods, and think of little more than living on the income of them, according to our own inclinations; if, for want of ‘a good conscience and of faith unfeigned,’³ we forfeit the protection of God; and by worldliness, or indolence, or levity in behaviour, talk, or appearance, (for gross vices I put out of the question,) lose, as we assuredly shall, the reverence of mankind, there will be no foundation left for us to stand upon. — Our legal establishment will shake and sink under us, if once it can be said we do the public little service; and much sooner if we are suspected of disquieting it. Wicked people will attack us without reserve, the good

¹ Eph. iv, 14.

² Mark xiii, 22.

³ 1 Tim. i, 5.

will be forced to condemn and give us up; and well would it be for us if that were the worst.”¹

No, my reverend brethren, you need not be reminded that the Christian minister’s duty is one which calls forth all the energy of faith, zeal, and perseverance. The faithful minister of the gospel feels and knows how solemn is the responsibility of a Christian teacher, and that though a Paul may plant, and an Apollos water, yet it is “God” only “who giveth the increase.”² He feels and knows that his own unaided exertions are useless. His only resource is in fervent and continual prayer; his only hope and confidence is in Jesus, through whose grace alone, he feels and knows he can be enabled, not only to “take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine,” to fully declare the whole counsel of God, the truth as it is in Jesus, but also to “be an example” to his flock “in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity;”³ in short a transcript of the life and character of him “whose he is, and whom he serves.”⁴

But while we thus contend for “the faith once delivered to the saints,”⁵ and endeavour to prove ourselves firm and consistent ministers of the Church of England, fearlessly preaching the gospel of Christ, unadulterated by worldly wisdom on the one hand, or by crafty mysticism on the other, let us never forget that all those—however they may differ from us, to whatever sect they belong, or to whatever party they be attached—who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth, are members of Christ’s church here upon earth, and heirs of the same blessed hope of everlasting life. And, above all, let us ever bear in mind, that it is not the mere belief of certain orthodox notions; that

¹ *Archbishop Secker’s Charges*, p. 240. London 1771.

² 1 Cor iii, 7.

³ 1 Tim. iv, 12.

⁴ Acts xxvii, 23.

⁵ Jude 3.

it is not the adherence to a certain branch of the Catholic Church, nor to a certain form of discipline and worship, which will hold us acquitted or condemned in that great day, “when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels;”¹ but whether we be found in Christ, or out of Christ, whether we have been faithful in the discharge of that important office to which we have been set apart, or have betrayed the holy cause which we solemnly undertook to defend.

¹ 2 Thess. i, 7.

THE END.

EMBLEMS OF SAINTS.

* * The kindness of my friend, the REV. RICHARD HART, author of "*Ecclesiastical Records*," &c. having supplied me with the following LIST of the EMBLEMS of such of our SAINTS as are of most frequent occurrence in Books and Buildings devoted to Religion, I have been induced, with his permission, to cause a few copies to be printed, in the hope of rendering an acceptable service to those, who, like myself, may have felt the inconvenience arising from the want of similar assistance. For any information tending to render the LIST more complete, or to correct the errors that may be found in it, MR. HART as well as myself will feel greatly obliged.

It is only right, however, to observe, in speaking of errors as regards the Emblems assigned to different Saints, that we are but too well aware that the uniformity so much to be wished for is far from being always preserved, and especially in the engravings in early publications. The object here has therefore been to select those generally regarded as best established; and the authorities for the selection would have been quoted, but that it seemed that to do so would have the appearance of an attempt to give importance to trifles, or, in classical language, "weight to vapour." Still more desirable would it have been to have appended to the alphabetical list of their symbols a similarly arranged list of the Saints themselves, together with the very valuable Calendar compiled by SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE for one of the Record Publications, and subsequently printed by MR. COOPER, and by SIR HARRIS NICOLAS. But here also the same objection interposed: should this first attempt be favored with the hoped-for reception, MR. HART himself, or some other younger antiquary, may probably be hereafter induced to republish it with the additions now suggested, and with whatever other may occur to him.

DAWSON TURNER.

January, 1844.

EMBLEMS OF SAINTS.

EXPLANATION of Initial Letters after the Names:—Abp. Archbishop; Ap. Apostle; B. Bishop; B. C. Bishop and Confessor; B. M. V. Blessed Mary Virgin; C. Confessor; K. King; K. C. King and Confessor; K. M. King and Martyr; M. Martyr; V. Virgin; V. M. Virgin and Martyr.

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
A.		
ALMSGIVING	Female so employed	Potentiana *
ALTAR	Martyrdom of a Pope at the Altar	Pope Stephen
ALTAR	Martyrdom of a Bishop at the Altar	Thomas a Becket †
ALTAR	King lying at the foot of an Altar	Canute K. M.
ANCHOR	At his feet	Clement B. M., or Felix
ANGEL	In armour, Devil at his feet	Michael
ARMOUR	Warrior in	George or Maurice
ARMS and LEGS }	Cut off	Adrian
ARROW or SPEAR }	In hand, sometimes the emblem of	Thomas Ap.
ARROW & BOOK }	In hand	Ursula
ARROWS	Transfixed with	Edmund K. M. or Sebastian M.
B.		
BANNER & CROSS }	Seen in the air	Constantius ‡
BASKET	Held in the hand, containing bread or fruit	Philip Ap.
BASKET	Of Fruit, Flowers, and Spices in hand	Dorothy
BED	Two Physicians, attending a Bishop in bed	Cosme & Damian
BEEHIVE	In the back-ground	Ambrose B. C.
BLIND MAN	Restored to sight, by	Magnus
BLOCK	Kneeling at, the sun rising	Waltheof
BLOCK	A Pope kneeling at	Fabian §
BOAT	Held in the hand	Jude Ap.
BOILED	To death in a Cauldron	Afra V. M. ¶
BOOK	A Female with a Book, teaching a Child...	Anne**
BOOK	Of the Gospel of St. John in his hand.....	Edward K. C.
BOOKS	Bishop, with three	Hilary B.

* Probably other Saints. † Several of the Saints were martyred thus.
‡ It seems probable that this is an error, and that the Emperor, Constantine, was really intended.

§ A great many Martyrs are represented at the Block.

|| He and St. Matthew are sometimes painted with clubs in their hands.

¶ Other martyrdoms are so represented, particularly St. John the Evangelist.

** Sometimes on this Book are the words "*Radix Jesse floruit.*"

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
BOOKS	Burning before him, sword in hand	Dominick
BOOK and } CROZIER }	The former in right hand, the latter in left	Bridget *
BOTTLE	Two figures holding a bottle and shears ...	Cosme & Damian †
BOWELS	Wound round a windlass or a staff	Erasmus
Bow and } ARROW }	Held by a Man, aiming at a naked Virgin..	Christina
BOX OF } SPIKENARD }	In her hand	Mary Magdalen
BREAD	A loaf in her hand	Gertrude V. & Abbess
BREAST	Torn by pincers, or Breasts in a dish	Agatha
C.		
CANDLE	In her hand	Genevieve
CARPEN- } TER'S }	In his hand..... }	Matthew Ap. or Joseph
SQUARE }		
CHAINS	A figure in prison, loaded with fetters	Peter <i>ad Vincula</i>
CHAINS	Or Manacles in a Bishop's hand	Leonard
CHALICE	At his feet.....	Richard B.
CHALICE } or CUP }	With a winged Serpent issuing from it.....	John, Evangelist
CHILD	In his arms.....	Britius B. C. ‡
CHILD	With a glory round his head, and a spoon } in his hand, before a Bishop	Augustine
CHILDREN	Three in a tub before a Bishop	Nicholas
CLUBS	Beaten with	Boniface, Maccaben. and others
COMB	A wool-comb in his hand.....	Blaise B.
CONFES- } SIONAL }	A Bishop seated in	Gothard
CROSS	Saltier X. a Saint leaning on	Andrew, Ap.
CROSS	Saltier in background	Benignus
CROSS	Like a T and a spear or double cross ‡.....	Philip, Ap.
CROSS	A large one in her arms	Helena
CROSS } CROWNED }	A tall one, with a bell at the top, a pig by } his side..... }	Anthony of Padua
FIGURE }		
CUPS	In the sky, talking to a Virgin kneeling ...	Bridget
	Two Cups or Goblets	Odilo, Abbot
D.		
DEAD	Raised to life.....	Marcialis
DEVIL	Beating a Saint with a club	Apollinaris & others
DEVILS	Saints, tormented by..... }	Lucy, and many others
DOG	Setting a globe on fire	Dominick §
DOG } DOVE }	Seated near him, with a loaf in his mouth, } a plague-spot on his leg	Roch
	Lighting on his head	Eunuchus

* Many Bishops and Saints are represented with Books. † See BED, *supra*.

‡ Simeon and the B.V.M. are thus represented.

§ See BOOKS, *supra*. || The Blessed Virgin and many Saints thus.

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
DOVE*	Bringing him a letter	Oswald K.
DOVES	In a basket, and staff in his hand	Joachim
DRAGON	Under her feet, and spear with a cross at } the top in her hand	Margaret
E.		
EAGLE	Standing by him	John, Evangelist †
EXPOSITO- RIUM }	Of Blessed Sacrament in her hand	Clare
ESPOUSALS	To the Saviour	Catharine
F.		
FACE	Of Our Lord upon a cloth	Veronica
FALDSTOOL	A mitred Figure, kneeling at	Ambrose ‡
FEMALE	With a Devil taking her hand.....	Theodora
FIRE	A Saint lighting	Januarius
FISH	Held in his hand; sometimes two.....	Simon Ap.
FLOGGED	To death with rods	Regina, Gorgon, Theodore, &c.
FLOOD	Houses swept away by, figure at a prison } window	Verena
FLOWER	In one hand and Sword in the other	Dorothy §
FLOWERS	Sprouting from her neck, head in hand.....	Flower
FRUIT	Some animal eating at his feet	Mangen
FULLER'S }	In his hand, and sometimes a saw	James the Less, Ap.
BAT }		
G.		
GENEALO- GICAL }	Rising from the reclining figure of an old Man	Jesse
TREE }		
GIANT	Carrying a Child through the water; a } Monk or Woman usually in the dis- } tance with a lantern	Christopher
GOAT	Satan in the form of, appearing to.....	Anthony, the Hermit
GRIDIRON	Held by a Deacon.....	Laurence
H.		
HAIRY MAN	Wearing a crown, before a double cross ...	Onofrius
HALBERT	In his hand, sabre by his side	Theodore
HAMMER }	In one hand, sword in the other.....	Adrian
and ANVIL }		
HAMMER }	In his hands	Eloy
& CROZIER }		
HAND	Cut off	Cyriacus
HARP	Figure playing on	Cecilia, Dunstan, or King David
HATCHET, }	In his hand.....	Matthias Ap.
HALBERT, }		
or BAT- }		
TLE-AXE }		
* A Dove whispering in the ear of a figure with triple crown and anchor, or triple cross, is the usual symbol of a Pope.		
† See CHALICE, <i>supra</i> . ‡ See BEE-HIVE, <i>supra</i> . § See BASKET, <i>supra</i> .		
Many others are so represented.		

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
HEAD	Carried in the hands.....	Denys or Winifred
HEAD	In a dish or charger.....	John, the Baptist
HEAD	Of King Oswald in his hand.....	Cuthbert B.
HEAD	Of Goliath in his hand.....	David
HEART	In his hand, or sometimes in the air.....	Augustine *
HERMIT	Kneeling, with beads in hand.....	Fiacre
HILL	A Saint preaching on.....	David Abp.
HIND	Wounded with an arrow, resting her feet } in his lap.....	Giles
HORNS	Glory in that form, staff, and tables of the law	Moses
HORSEBACK	A Bishop mounted, raising his crozier } against a monster.....	Donatus
HOST	A Bishop delivering it into a Man's hand...	Lupus
I.		
IDOL	Falling from its pedestal.....	Philip †
INFANTS	Murdered by Soldiers.....	Holy Innocents
K.		
KEY	One or two in his hand.....	Peter Ap.
KINGS	Three, with their gifts.....	Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar
KING	With a dove over his head, and the Arms } of France.....	Louis
KNIGHT	Armed on horseback, Dragon at his feet...	George ‡
KNIFE	Figure holding one.....	Bartholomew, Ap.
L.		
LAMB	At her feet.....	Agnes
LAMB	At his feet, and a cross in his hand.....	John, the Baptist §
LANTERN	In hand.....	Gudula V. M. or Hugh B. C.
LEPROUS	Spots on her body.....	Angradesma
LILY	In his hand.....	Gabriel, the Angel ¶
LILIES	In a pot near her.....	Blessed Virgin Mary
LION	Lying near him.....	Mark, Evangelist ¶
LIONS	Saint exposed to.....	Agapetus and some others
LOAF and } ROSAARY }	In his hand.....	John, the Almoner
N.		
NAILS	In his head and in his hand.....	William **
O.		
OAK	A Prelate hewing down an oak.....	Boniface Abp. & M.
OIL	Distilling from her hand.....	Walburga
ORGAN	Figure playing on.....	Cecilia V. M. ††
OX	Lying near him.....	Luke, Evangelist
<p>* See CHILD, <i>supra</i>. † The same is introduced in the Flight into Egypt. ‡ See ARMOUR, <i>supra</i>. § See HEAD, <i>supra</i>. ¶ It is peculiarly, if not exclusively, in the <i>Annunciation</i> that the archangel Gabriel is thus painted, appearing to the Virgin seated at a table. ¶ St. Jerome is also attended by a Lion. ** Martyred by the Jews at Norwich. †† See HARP, <i>supra</i>.</p>		

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
P.		
PASTORAL } STAFF }	Stuck into a rock or tomb	Wulstan C.
PILGRIM	Saint with hat, staff, and escallop shell.....	James the Great, Ap
POPE	On horseback, blessing the people.....	Leo
PULPIT	Saint preaching from }	Maternus, Rupert, Peter, Paul, &c.
R.		
RACK	Saint upon the rack	Vincent
RING and } SCEPTRE }	In his hands	Edward C.
RIVER	Saint thrown into a river	Vitalis
ROCK	Embracing a rock.....	Rosalia
RODS	A bundle of, in her hand.....	Faith
S.		
SARACEN	Under his feet	Paneras
SAW	A long saw in hand	Simon, Ap.*
SCALES	Held by an Angel in armour, weighing souls	Michael †
SCULL	At feet or in hand }	Mary Magdalen, Jerome, &c. &c. ‡
SCYTHE	In his hand.....	Walstan B. C.
SEVEN } PERSONS }	Praying	The Seven Sleepers
SHOEMAKERS	Two at work..... }	Crispin and Cris- pinian
SHRINE	A Saint worshipping before it, with beads } in his hand and a dog at his feet }	Wendelin
SPADE	In left hand, open book in right.....	Fiacre §
SPEAR	Held by a Soldier in armour	Longinus
STAG	With a cross between his horns	Hubert & Eustachius
STONE	In his hand, or stones in his lap.....	Stephen
SUN & BIRD	The latter descending from the former, } upon a sleeping Saint	Servatus
SWORD	In hand	Paul Ap.
SWORD	Fixed in his scull	Thomas à Becket ¶
SWORD	Through his body as he stands at the altar	Quiriacus
T.		
TABLE	Ministering to Saints at a table	Petronilla
THORNS	Bishop dragged over.....	Mark B
TOOTH IN } PINCERS }	And Palm-branch** in her hand	Apollonia V. M.
TOWER	In her hand ...	Barbara
TREE	Blossoming over her head as she sleeps	Etheldreda
TUB	Some liquid poured from, held over	Alexius

* See FISH, *supra*.† See ARMOUR, *supra*.‡ A Scull was common to all Hermits The Magdalen generally bears her Box of SPIKENARD, which see *supra*.§ See HERMIT, *supra*. || It is sometimes jagged like a saw.¶ See ALTAR, *supra*.

** A Palm-branch, as the general emblem of martyrdom, is often found with other Saints.

EMBLEM.	DESCRIPTION.	NAME OF SAINT.
	V.	
VIRGIN	Sometimes crowned, surrounded by many } others of smaller size	Ursula
VIRGIN & } CHILD }	From Heaven, appearing to	Bernard
	W.	
WASHING	Poor Men's feet	Louis or Edith
WHEEL & } SWORD }	Or wheels, commonly broken.....	Catharine *
WOMAN	Covered with her flowing hair	Mary, the Egyptian†
WOUNDS	Figure bearing the five wounds of Our } Lord, commonly streaming from a cru- } cified Seraph in the air	Francis

EMBLEMS OF FESTIVALS.

DEDICATION OF A CHURCH	<i>Altar</i> with three men before it
FOUNDER OR BENEFACTOR	<i>Church</i> in miniature, held in the hand
INVENTION OF THE CROSS	<i>Cross</i> lifted out of a tomb among spectators
ASSUMPTION	<i>Virgin</i> carried to Heaven by Angels
EXALTATION OF THE CROSS	<i>King</i> kneeling before a cross in the air
CORPUS CHRISTI	<i>Shrine</i> supported by two Men
TRINITY	<i>Three Men</i> in purple, exactly alike—also, the Father as an old Man with triple crown, the Son as a young one, and the Holy Spirit as a dove.

APOSTLES' MOST USUAL EMBLEMS.

St. Peter, a key—*St. Paul*, a sword—*St. Andrew*, a cross saltier X—*St. John*, a cup and serpent—*St. Philip*, a tau cross, or a double cross, or spear †—*St. Bartholomew*, a knife—*St. Thomas*, an arrow or spear—*St. Matthew*, a club, or a carpenter's square—*St. James the Great*, a pilgrim's staff, wallet, &c.—*St. James the Less*, a fuller's bat and saw—*St. Jude*, a boat in his hand—*St. Simon*, a fish or fishes in his hand, and sometimes a saw—*St. Matthias*, a hatchet, battle-axe, or sword.

EVANGELISTS' EMBLEMS.

St. Matthew, an angel—*St. Luke*, an ox—*St. John*, an eagle—*St. Mark*, a lion.

FOUR DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH.

St. Jerome, a lion—*St. Augustine*, a heart—*St. Ambrose*, a bee-hive, or a scourge—*St. Gregory*, at Mass, Christ appearing to him over the chalice.

* See ESPOUSALS, *supra*.

† She is often represented with a Monk standing before her. ‡ Sometimes a basket.

W. B. Donne Esq
with the author's name (copy)

PRÆLECTIO PHILOLOGICA.

PRÆLECTIO PHILOLOGICA

IN

SCHOLIS CANTABRIGIENSIBUS

HABITA

A.D. IV. ID. OCTOBR. M.DCCC.XLVIII.

QUA

DEBORÆ CANTICUM TRIUMPHALE

DENUO INTERPRETATUS EST

JOANNES GULIELMUS DONALDSON, S.T.B.,

GYMNASII EDMUNDOBURIENSIS MAGISTER;
ET COLL. S.S. TRIN. HAUD ITA PRIDEM SOCIUS.

CANTABRIGIÆ:

TYPIS ACADEMICIS EXCUDIT J. GUL. PARKER:

VE NEUNT APUD J. DEIGHTON, CANTABRIGIÆ;
ET APUD J. GUL. PARKER, LONDINI.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.

PRÆLECTIO PHILOLOGICA.

DIGNISSIME DOMINE, DOMINE PROCANCELLARIE, CETERIQUE
DOCTISSIMI ELECTORES :

NULLA profecto iniquior conditio cogitatione effingi potest quam eorum, qui munus aliquod litterarium ambientes ipsâ petitionis ratione se interclusos putent, quominus in comparisonem doctrinæ veniant. Præsertim si ad nullos labores, tralatitios illos quidem et bene notos, atque in eâdem materie jam antea positos, provocare queant. Atqui hanc sortem omnes hodie conquereremur, qui una a vobis petimus ministerium in hac Academiâ honoratissimum, Regium scilicet Linguam Hebræam publice docendi munus, si nulla daretur occasio quâ demonstrare liceret quid hoc Marte possemus. Equidem non is sum qui a meritis eorum laudibus quibuscum hoc certamen inii quidquam derogatum velim; ne verbo quidem tenus imminuerem istorum dignitatem, quam et scio et fateor esse amplissimam. Fidenter tamen affirmare ausim, neminem esse, præter illum ipsum doctissimum virum, cujus in Cathedram unusquisque nostrum se suffectum iri sperat, neminem neque in nostrâ Academiâ, neque in universâ Britannîâ, qui hanc Spartam ita susceptam adornaverit, ut verum ibi ac legitimum regem agnoscat. Quæ quum esset mea de hac re sententia, non committendum putavi ut meam qualemcunque lucernam sub modii tenebris obscurarem. Nam et mea et vestra refert ut quasi apertum iudicium invitare videar. Ac primum mihi roganti dedistis, in quem hanc prælectionem habeam, difficillimum fere totius Scripturæ capitulum, nempe eximium illud, quod in quinto Iudicum continetur, Deborahæ vatis Epinicium, in quo permulta tentavi quæ criticis quantum scio¹ ad unum omnibus fraudem fecerunt.

¹ Hominis esset valde otiosi omnia perlegere quæ de hoc Carmine conscripta sunt. Strictim quidem inspexi Poli et Rosenmülleri farragines, quæ

Præterea, quum is, qui Professorium munus in hac celeberrimâ Academiâ petere ausus est, docere debeat, non modo quantum sciat, verum etiam quomodo scientiam suam promovere speret, id quod in exegesi hujus vel illius Capituli minime consistere potest, imprimendam curavi et vobis in manus tradendam brevem quandam de Hebraismi instauratione disputationem², eamque vernaculo sermone conscriptam: nemo enim qui vel mediocre linguisticae quæ vocatur scientiæ cognitionem habet, debilem atque emortuam dialectum, quæ articulo præpositivo careat, qualis est vetus Latina, in novâ linguæ cujusvis syntacticæ grammatologiâ explicandâ frustra fatigatam volet. Itaque, quod ad me attinet, satis largam habetis judicandi materiem. Quod vestrum est, judicium adhibetote sanum, sincerum, candidum, sanctum; et faxit Deus O. M. ut per vestram sententiam salva sit Ipsius gloria; salvæ sint scientiarum apud nos incrementa; salvæ sint denique Almæ Matris nostræ laus atque utilitas!

Priusquam ad interpretationem difficillimi hujus Cantici accedam, nonnihil disputandum videtur de rebus gestis, quæ ibi commemorantur, de Deborâ ipsâ, de indole, dispositione, et consilio poematis. Quo facto, ad singula enodanda melius progrediemur.

I. In capite statim antecedente legimus, Jabinum, Cananitarum regem, qui Chatzore sedem suam regiam haberet, cujus vero dux Sisra habitaret Charôshethæ Govitarum, durissimum inter Israelitas septentrionales imperium per viginti annos exercuisse, donec Baraquus, ex Qedashâ Naphthalitarum, hortante

nullam fere ante editam commentationem illibatam reliquerunt: ad manum habui criticam Dathii versionem, atque interpretationes G. H. Hollmanni (*Halæ*, 1818) et H. H. Keminki (*Traj. ad Rhen.* 1840); neque mihi ignota erant, quæ commentatus est H. Ewald in libro cui titulus: *Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes* (*Göttingæ*, 1839, Vol. I., p. 125). Sed frustra ubique quæsi vi plenam ac veram hujus Capituli exegesis.

² “*Maskil le-Sopher*: the Principles and Processes of Classical Philology applied to the Analysis of the Hebrew Language. London: J. W. Parker, 1848.” Que in illo fasciculo de sermonis Hebræi fundamentis et compage posui principia, eadem hæc Prælectio exemplo quodam et quasi specimine illustrat. Nempe, tam in exegesi quam in grammatologiâ, omnes omnino Phariseorum, Masoretharum, et Arabizantium traditiones, quatenus justum hodiernæ scientiæ imperium aversantur, prorsus equidem aspernor ac rejicio.

atque adjuvante Deborâ, prophetissâ Bethleâ, quæ magnâ tunc temporis auctoritate apud suos valeret, Taborem montem cum exiguis copiis occupasset, atque inde subito incursu interque vehementissimam de cœlo tempestatem ferreos Sisræ currus totumque Cananitarum exercitum funderet ac fugaret. Quam quidem victoriam, et, qui ex eâ profluxit, exitum Sisræ plane miserabilem, una, ut videtur, commemorant Debora et Sufes ille Naphthalita. Imprimis igitur, ut a temporis ordinatione incipiam, servitium illud Jabineum statim post Ehudi mortem Israelitis injunctum fuisse apparet, qui tunc denuo Jehovam peccatis suis offenderant. Neque illud pro difficultate habendum est, quod in capite tertio scriptum invenimus—nempe, Shamgarem, "Hanâthi filium, post Ehudi decessum cives suos a Philistæis liberasse. Aperte enim demonstrat Canticum nostrum (v. 6), Israelitas illâ ipsâ Shamgaris ætate tam humili ac demisso fuisse animo, ut per qualescunque angustias et trans limitem viæ inimicorum metu obreperent. Si igitur vel plusquam sexcentos Philistæorum humi stravisset grex ille bubulcorum cui præfuit Shamgar, non ideo putandum est late patentem illam dominationem, quam Jabinus inter septentrionales exercebat, illico collabefactam fuisse. Quodcumque patnaverit Shamgar, id inter eas agricolarum conturbationes numerandum est, quæ servitutem omnium variant potius quam evertunt. Si textum nostrum sequimur, pro certo habendum est, Jabini potestatem perduravisse ab Ehudi morte usque ad id temporis "quo Debora surgeret, quo surgeret mater Israelis."

Jam vero Jabinus noster, Chatzorix rex, idem nomen eandem dominationem habet, quam vetus ille Septentrionalium Cananitarum signifer, quem Josua multo ante devicerat. Illud quoque observatione dignum est, quod in hac historiâ Jabinus ille minor haudquaquam quasi actor appareat. Omnia per Sisram geruntur—Sisra ferreos currus in unum locum congregat—Sisra aciem instruit—Sisra devictus fugit—Sisræ mors, quæ bellum finiverat, Jaⁿhelæ male illam quidem conciliatam³ gloriam inchoat. Quid

³ Sophistæ illi Oxonienses, qui, quum quater anno tot et tanta Christianismi præcepta violent, tamen *διεγείρειν ἐν ὑπομνήσει τὴν εἰλικρινήν διάνοιαν* profitentur, nescio cui nuper vitio verterunt, quod hoc Jaⁿhelæ facinus improbare. Perperam is sane sacram Scripturam interpretatur, qui mendacium, perfidiam, crudele dormientis hospitis homicidium, Deo ipsi placuisse existimat.

quiritis? Sisra iste, non Jabinus, personam tyranni induit, et Jabinus vix aut ne vix quidem in scenam prodit. Qui criticam historiæ methodum experiendo tentaverit, is profecto non dubitabit, quin Jabinus, i. e. יָבִין, *jávîn*, “prudens,” “intelligens,” generale esset nomen, sive patrium seu potius epitheton, omnium regionis Cananiticæ regum. Eodem modo invenimus multos veterum Ægyptiorum *Pharaones*, Philistæorum *Abimēlekos*, Amalekitarum *Agagos*, Græco-Ægyptiorum *Ptolemæos*, Babyloniorum *Labyntos*, Cappadocum *Ariarathes*, Ponticorum *Mithradatas*, Syrorum *Ben-Hadados*. Et quum Jabinus ille summus quasi muta sit hujus historiæ persona, rationi consentaneum esset arbitrari, Sisram procuratorem fuisse vicarium, qui mixtorum hominum provinciam principis nomine administrabat, colligebat vectigalia, et pensa victo populo facienda imponebat. Quæ omnia certius eliciamus licet e nomine loci illius ubi sedem administrationis habebat Sisra. Ubi nam sita fuerit illa urbs, quæ in sacro textu חֶרֶשֶׁת הַגִּוִּיִּם (*Harôsheth hag-Gôwîm*) appellatur, nemini adhuc compertum est. Nemini tamen ignotum esse debet, quid nomen urbis significet. Nam verbum חָרַשׁ, *hârash*, quod radicem verbi χαράσσω exhibet, denotat “insculpsit,” “fabricatus est;” et nomen femininum *hârôsheth*, inde derivatum, significat *fabricationem lignorum vel lapidum*. Quod vero explanationis vel definitionis gratiâ additur *hag-Gôwîm*, idem supplementum invenietis in nomine provinciæ Galilææ, quæ appellatur *Gelîl hag-Gôwîm*, Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων. Præterea, bis injectam mentionem videmus de rege *Gôwîm*, sine ullâ aliâ designatione (*Gen.* xiv. 1. *Jos.* xii. 23), ubi tamen Galilæam innui apparet. Putandum est igitur permixtam variarum gentium—Syrorum, Phœnicum, Cananitarum, Philistæorum—colluviem ab antiquissimis temporibus in Septentrionali Palæstinâ una vixisse; et quum singularum urbium reguli unius ejusdam imperio plerumque essent obnoxii, is scilicet *melek hag-Gôwîm*, i. e. τῶν ἐθνῶν βασιλεύς, appellatus est. Jam vero Sisra, Jabini Chatzorei, i. e. τοῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν βασιλέως, procurator, inter has permixtas ac perturbatas nationes habitabat, in urbe quâdam quæ *Harôsheth* appellata est, i. e. ξυλοτόμος vel “fabrorum oppidum.” Asiaticis tyrannis semper moris fuit, ut plenam ac liberam satrapis suis

potestatem relinquerent, modo vectigalia subditæ provinciæ sedulo collecta essent ac dinumerata in ærarium. Regio illa, quam procurabat Sisra, a Libano usque ad Carmelum et Taborem, pretiosis arboribus abundabat, præsertim cedris, quarum tunc multiplex erat usus, quas igitur vicini reges summo studio appetebant. Quapropter Iesaias propheta hanc jactationem Sancheribo attribuit: "Ego cum curruum meorum multitudine montium fastigia occupavi, cacumina Libani; prostravi cedros ejus proceras, abietes ejus præstantissimas. Penetravi ad summam ejus altitudinem, ad sylvam ejus amœnissimam" (II *Reg.* xix. 23). Atque iterum in parabolâ contra regem Babylonis: "Abietes," inquit, "contra te lætatae sunt, et cedri Libani; ex quo dormisti, non ascendet qui succidat nos" (*Is.* xiv. 8). Ergo, quemadmodum Pharaon ab antiquioribus Israelitis servilia opera exigebat, et lateribus ex luto formandis varioque in agris servitio vitam eis acerbam reddebat, ita Sisra quoque, ut vectigalia ex arboribus Jabino facilius redirent, provinciales suos pro lignatoribus tractabat, et in cædendo, dolando, et portando cedros atque abietes satis eos sollicitos habebat. Atque hæc opera, in Haroshethâ suâ moderabatur. Similiter, Athenienses urbi illi, quâ argenti metalla exercebant, *Λαυρεῖον*⁴ nomen indiderunt, ἀπὸ τῶν λαυρῶν, i. e. "fodinis metallorum;" atque alibi invenietis similiter impositas urbium appellationes. Et quod ad servitii genus attinet, eodem modo Josua jam antea Gibeonitas tractaverat. "Vivant," inquebat, "sed sint lignatores et lixones publici" (*Jos.* ix. 21). Neque illam hujus historiæ partem silentio præterire oportebit, quæ ex Cantico solo innotuit: nempe omnia bellica instrumenta tunc temporis genti devictæ defuisse (v. 8): "neque enim clypeus nec jaculum inveniebatur in quadraginta millibus Israelitarum." Caverat utique Sisra ne ad bellum via nimis aperta pateret. Quod idem postea voluerunt Philistæi, quum edicerent (I *Sam.* xiii. 19), "ne Hebræi sibi gladios aut hastas facerent." At vero minime constat Baraqui illum exercitum inermem fuisse: sed ex contrario innuitur (*c.* iv. 15, 16) Sisræ copias vi et armis in fugam esse conjectas. Quibus autem armis? Shamgar cum grege suo bubulcorum, baculis quibus boves stimulantur, ingentem

⁴ Vide Welcker, *die Æschylische Trilogie*, p. 212; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 209 n.

Philistæorum stragem patravit (c. iii. 31). Et si Baraquus lignatorum decem millia ad Taborem⁵ congregabat, quid obstat quin suas secum secures, quibus arbores cædebant—neque illam adeo imbellem armaturam—in manibus portarent? Itaque totam narrationem satis enucleatam videmus, si vel ad oppidi Sisranei nomen satis animum attendimus. Lignatorum præfectus atque administrator, quod sæpe fit, a lignatoribus suis, qui se pro re natâ bipennis, asciiis, et dolabris armaverant, devictus est, et fugiens miserabilem ingloriamque mortem occubuit. Id scilicet decreverat Jehova, qui fidem suorum præmio coronat, qui imo de gradu tollit humiles, superbos autem de summâ sede deponit.

II. De prophetissâ ipsâ primum est observandum, eam antiquioremque Debôrâ, Rebeccæ nutricem, idem nomen eandem sedem habuisse. Nam quod vetus illa sub *quercu* sepulta fuisset, quæ propterea “quercus luctûs” esset vocata (*Gen.* xxxv. 8), hæc autem nostra jus diceret sub *palmâ*, quæ ipsius nomine appellaretur (*Jud.* iv. 4, 5), tantillum id discrepantiæ nemo sane urgebit. Inter Ramam igitur et Bethêlem ab antiquissimis usque temporibus in honore fuit Deboræ et nomen et arbor. Equidem opinor nomen illud appellativum potius fuisse quam proprium: et fortasse ab omnibus prophetissis usurpabatur, quæ de tempore in tempus sub illâ arbore vel jus dicerent vel Jehovæ oracula pronunciarent. רְבוֹרָה, *D'vôrâh* enim est *apis*, μέλισσα, vel *vespa*, σφήξ. Apud veteres quidem Ægyptios *apis* vel *vespa* significabat *regnum*: inter Græcos autem μελίσσης nomen injungebatur non modo poetis poetriisque communiter, verum etiam sacerdotibus Magnæ Matris, et Vati Delphicæ speciatim. Hinc Pindarus de oraculo Cyrenaico ita loquitur:

σὲ δὲ τοῦτω λόγῳ
χρησμός ὄρθωσεν μέλισσας Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελεύει
(*P.* iv. 60).

⁵ Taboris nomen in nostro Cantico frustra quæsieris; sed mons ille proculdubio significatur verbis (v 18): עַל מְרוֹמֵי שְׂדֵה, nam מְרוֹם de montibus prædicatur (*Ez.* xvii. 23; *Ps.* vii. 8; *Ies.* xxvi. 5), et hæc descriptio: “Zebulon est populus qui vitam ad mortem usque nihili æstimavit, et Naphthali in

Quinetiam apud omnes fere gentes antiquissimas arbor quædam, ac præsertim quereus, pro sede fatidicâ delecta erat. Debôrâ autem nostram oracula, Jehovah nomine et divino quodam instinctu afflatuque, edere solitam esse, ex ipsâ historiâ satis apparet. Nam Jehovah nomine Baraquo præcepit ut copias suas cogeret (c. iv. 6) : et quum iis, qui ad Jehovah auxilium non venissent, diras imprecatur, verbis utitur legati Jehovah (v. 23), *mal'hak-Jehôrah*, i. e. ipsius Jehovah, qui nonnisi per *mal'hakîm* cum hominibus agebat (p. 20 infra). Talem feminam, cui tam præsens numen favebat, robustos Septentrionalium animos excitare ac regere potuisse, vel per se satis patet. Neque alia exempla desunt. Nonne enim G. Cornelius Tacitus memoriæ prodidit veteres Germanos putare solitos esse inesse feminis sanctum aliquid et providum, nec aut consilia earum aspernari aut responsa negligere? "Vidimus," inquit (*Germ.* viii), "sub divo Vespasiano Velôdam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Alauriuiam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione aut tamquam facerent deas."

III. Carmen hoc vetustissimum⁶, quo Deborah ac Baraqui triumphus laudibus effertur, plane ejusdem generis est atque

excelsis agri," ad amussim concinit cum illis capituli antecedentis verbis (v. 6): "Vade et occupa Taborem montem cum decem millibus Naphthalitarum et Zebulonitarum."

⁶ Deborah Epinicium ad antiquissimas literarum Hebræarum reliquias referendum esse, mihi multis argumentis persuadetur. Illud nihil moror, quod in v. 7 pro pleniori formâ *וְשֵׁן*, prefixam *וְ* habemus. Nam, ut alibi demonstrare conatus sum (*Maskil le-Sopher*, pp. 2 sqq.), omnia Biblici sermonis monumenta Masoretharum incude difficta circumferuntur. Si igitur longior forma *וְשֵׁן* decurtato relativo *וְ* antiquior est, id quod neutiquam probari potest, quid impedit quominus vel in vetustissimo poemate pronomen toleremus, quod in universæ linguæ numeralibus radices egit? (*Maskil le-Sopher*, pp. 43, sqq.) Nihil enim vocabulis numeralibus vel antiquius vel immotius. Equidem credo compositas pronominum formas recentiorem linguæ statum fere semper indicare. Quod si *וְ* illud, quod præter h. l. ter invenitur in hoc ipso Judicium libro (vi. 7, vii. 12, viii. 26), et inter Phœnices quotidiano usu pronuntiabatur, ad normam Indo-Germanicam proprius accedit quam compositum *וְשֵׁן*, versus 7 confirmabit potius quam evellet quam de antiquitate Cantici nostri concepimus opinionem.

hymnus ille, quem Moses et Israelitæ, comitante feminarum choro, canebant postquam Ægyptii Sinûs Arabici undis obruti periissent (*Exod.* xv). Nempe duo omnino genera sunt poematum Hebræorum. Unum, quod Psalmos continet, qui religiosos omnium hominum sensus ita exprimunt, ut nihil divino cultui accommodatius vel inventum sit vel possit inveniri. Alterum, quod præcipua Israelitarum facinora commemorat, atque eam ob rem historiam potius quam res divinas sapit. Verum enim vero, ea erat veterum Hebræorum religio, ut post devictos hostes, post recuperatam libertatem, nihil antiquius haberent, quam ut Jehovæ laudes decantarent. Itaque inter Psalmos invenimus poemata nonnulla, quæ alteri anthologiæ referenda erant, multa item in fragmentis libri *Iasher*, cujus jacturam nemo non defleverit, quæ religioso poematum generi merito ascribimus. Quid quæritis? veris Israelitis Deus erat in omnibus et ante omnia: et humillima divini Nominis adoratio vel jactabundas ovantium acclamationes temperabat: quod in hoc Cantico præcipue animadvertimus. Nam tametsi nullum est epinicium quo victorum exultatio liberius exprimitur, tamen nihilominus, ab initio usque ad exitum, Jehovæ nomen prædicatur, ut qui populum suum in libertatem vindicavisset, atque id debili duarum mulierum instrumento. Quod clarius apparebit si carmen ipsum in membra sua discerpimus. Etenim Debôræ hoc Canticum in septem strophas sive partitiones divisum est. In primâ; potestas Jehovæ, Israelitarum Dei, nobili fervore describitur. Secunda pars obiter percurrit miseram Judæorum conditionem ante ortam Debôræ. Tertia omnes ad gratulationem et ad Dei laudes propter liberationem invitat. In quartâ strophâ recensentur tribules qui operam victoriæ navabant; culpantur ii qui parum prompti ad prælium venierant. Quinta pars prælium depingit. Sexta execratur eos peregrinorum, qui fugientes inimicos trucidare omiserant; quod contra, laudatur Cheberi conjux, qui utili magis quam honesto artificio ducem Cananitarum oppresserat. Denique, septima pars vanas quæ mulieres hostium lactabant spes, amarâ irrisione cavillatur.

Etsi credibile est hanc odam postea sæpius in tantæ rei memoriam recitatam fuisse, satis luculenter apparet ex ipso contextu eam principio a Debôrâ idcirco conscriptam esse, ut eo die caneretur, quo victor Baraqui exercitus, una cum illis Israelitarum copiis

quæ serius accesserant, solemnî pompâ deductus est, et quo captivos ac reliquam prædam milites inter se sociosque partiebantur. Ante oculos quasi præsentem ponere licet longum illum triumphantium comitatum. Mulieres ex urbibus Israeliticis canentes et saltantes victorum reliquiis obviam veniunt, cum tympanis et triangulis alternatim canentes. In primò agmine procedunt principes, inter quos Baraquus, comitante nobilissimâ illâ Lapidothi conjuge. Ibi Benjamin, parvulus ille, dominans inter fratres suos; ibi Zebulonî principes, qui vitam ad mortem usque vili æstimaverant; ibi fortissimi Naphthalitarum qui cum Baraquo ex agris montanis descenderant. Sequuntur longo ordine captivi captivæque; ferreis Sisræ curribus vehuntur purpureæ vestes, mulierum Sidoniarum opera, lorice auro intertextæ, gladii ensesque, Damasceno ferro acuti. Undique acclamationes, undique laudes Jehovæ!

Sed jam tandem ad singulorum interpretationem descendendum est. Et quum angustis unius horæ spatiis inclusus sim, nihil amplius tentabo quam ut locis quibusdam impeditissimis ac pœne conclamatis aliquid novæ lucis offundam.

v. 1. In ipso Cantici initio quæritur quid sibi velit illud:

בְּפָרַע פְּרָעוֹת בִּישְׂרָאֵל
bi-ph'rá"h p'rá'hóth b' Isráél.

Equidem nullus sum dubius quin vel vera sit vel vero proxima antiqua illa Theodotionis versio: ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς ἐν Ἰσραήλ. Quod evincit etiam lineolæ sequentis appositio:

בְּהִתְנַחֵם עִם בְּרָכּוֹ יְהוָה
bé' hith-naddév "hám, bár'kú Jehóvah.

Exigit enim proba antithesis ut cum populo duces etiam in scenam inducantur. Præsertim quum eadem appositio paullo infra (v. 9.) recurrat, ubi nemo dubitare potest de significatione participii חִקֵּק, *hóqéq*, quod valet “judicans.” Sententia igitur hæc est:

“Quod iudices judicabant in Israel,
Quod populus voluntariam militiam professus est,
Laudate Jehovam.”

Nemo autem adhuc vidit, quomodo hæc sententia cum significatione radicis פָּרַע, *pá-ra"h*, quadrare possit. Ut mihi quidem

videtur, primaria hujus vocis significatio est: “liberare a malo,” i. e. ἀπο τοῦ κακοῦ. Verbum igitur vult vel “remittere pœnam” ut in *Ezekiele* xxiv. 14: לֹחֵה'הֶפְרָאׁהׁ: vel “concedere peccatorum impunitatem” et “dare licentiam” unde *pārûa'h* “effrenus.” Hinc variae translationes, in sensum laxandi, solvendi, nudandi, et quæ sunt similia. Jam vero judex, qui dirimit litem, imponit mulctam, quam quum reus exsolverit, ab aliis pœnis illico liber est. Inde Græci satisfactionem pro culpâ δίκην appellabant, i. e. “rem ejusdem pretii.” Et Romani eum qui debitam satisfactionem argenti pondere æstimabat *ponti-ficem* appellabant; qui autem corpus puniebat *carni-ficem*. *P'rā'hôth* igitur vel Græcorum δικασπόλους vel Romanorum *pontifices* in memoriam revocat; i. e. vel Hebræorum שֹׁפְטִים, *Shôphedhîm*, vel Carthaginiensium *Sufetes*, quæ nomina ad eandem judicandi notionem referuntur.

vv. 4, 5. Quod plerique omnes recentiorum arbitrantur interpretum versibus quarto et quinto describi adventum Jehovæ auxilium contra Sisram ferentis, eam opinionem falsam esse, inter alia arguit locus iste parallelus *Psalmi* lxxviii. 8, 9. Unde colligas, in utroque loco magnifice depingi sublimem illam in deserto Theophaniam, quam hic ad laudes Jehovæ in genere augendas poetria citaverit. In uno Kennicotti codice (136) clausulam: גַּם-עָבִים נָטְפוּ מֵיָם *gam-hâvîm nâ-dh'phû mâjîm*, “etiam nubes destillant aquas,” omissam esse invenimus. Et quum hæc verba loco *Psalmi* parallelo desint, vix possumus non addubitare, an in textum irrepserint e margine, ubi aliquis, qui sublimiorem illam locutionem *gam-shâmajîm nâ-dh'phû* illustrare voluit, interpretationem suam adscripserat. Cuinam quovis tempore mirum videatur si “nubes aquam destillant?” Num aliunde, quam a nubibus, pluvias expectabimus? Obiter moneo lexicographorum gratiâ, radicem monosyllabam verbi *nâ-dhaph* esse *dhaph*⁷, quæ eadem est atque nostra “dew,” Teutonice, *thau*.

⁷ Mihi jampridem persuasum est litteram ט, de quo tantopere rixantur Grammatici, median esse potius quam tenuem, ita ut Sanscriticam, *dha*, quam proxime exprimat (vide *Maskil le-Sopher*, p. 7. *New Cratylus*, p. 103. et de Græca θ, *Gr. Gr.* Art. 13 f.)

In ultimâ versûs quinti clausulâ paullo difficilior est phrasis זֶה סִינַי *zeh Çinai*, quæ et in Psalmi loco parallelo occurrit. Quum enim mons Sinai longe remotus esset a monte Tabore, poetria vix dicere potuisset “hic Sinai,” quasi digito indicans absentem illam Theophaniæ sedem. Verum vidit interpret Græcus, qui Psalmi verba: *mi-p'nê^s 'helôhîm zeh-Çinai* ita reddidit: ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Σιναι. Ita ut *zeh* pronomen ad Deum ipsum referatur, et, quod sæpe fit apud Græcos, fortioris articuli partes sustineat. Similiter, in *Psalmo* xxiv. vv. 8, 10, legimus מִי-זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכֶּבֶד, et מִי הוּא זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכֶּבֶד, ubi fortius pronomen *hû^mh*, illud *zeh* ad articuli officium remittit: nam Græci τίς ὁ βασιλεύς; vel τίς οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς; fere eodem sensu efferunt. Atque hæc ratio simplicior est, quam ut, cum Schultensio aliisque, ad Arabicum illud زُو *zû*, quod “Dominum” significat, decurramus.

v. 6. In versu sexto Debôra infelicem Israelitarum conditionem antequam ipsa surrexisset, vivis coloribus in memoriam revocat. Vixisse quidem illo tempore viros fortissimos, quales essent *Shamgar*, et *Ja'hel*, sed suos a servitio non potuisse liberare. De Shamgaris facinore satis constat ex tertio Judicum capite. Quis autem fuerit *Ja'hel* ille, nemini compertum est. Uxorem *Heberi* hoc loco significari parum probabile est. Vigeat enim *Ja'hela*, Sisræ interfectorix, spirante adhuc et canente Debôrâ. Et quum *Ja'helæ* istius gloriam, æque ac suam, in hoc Cantico poetria nostra laudibus extollat, quî fieri potest, ut tantopere distinguat inter suam victoriam et *Ja'helæ* ejusdem impotentiam? *Jâ'hel* igitur vel *Ja'halâh* (*Ezr.* ii. 56; *Neh.* vii. 58), i. e. *rupicapra* vel *ibex*, erat nomen proprium tam viri quam feminae, atque hoc versu indicat nescio quem heroa, qui paulo ante Deboræ rebellium pro se quoque contra Cananitarum imperium defectionem molitus erat. Quod ad Kinæam illam attinet cujus nomen populi sui mores optime repræsentat, (in rupibus enim nidum ponebant Kinæi, *Num.* xxiv. 21), facile suspiceris, quum *Heberus* tentoria posuisset in viciniâ Qedashæ ubi habitabat Baraquus (*Jud.* iv. 11), eum simulasse amicitiam cum *Hatzoreis*, revera autem Baraquum sibi fœdere et societate adjunxisse. Operæ pretium erit, verba ipsa,

quibus subditorum miseria enunciat, paulo attentius examinare. Fortes erant—quis negat?—Shamgar et Jaⁿhel; sed non ea erat istorum virtus, quæ devictos Israelitas in libertatem vindicaret. Mæsti ac solliciti per devios et contortos tramites (*hārā'hōth* "hāqal-gallōth") pergebant, si qui in tanto hostium metu fores exire ausi sunt. Eundem rerum statum apud veteres Græcos breviter, ut solet, depinxit Thucydides (1, 2): τῆς ἐμπορίας, αἰτ, οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμίγνυντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, et quæ sequuntur. Propius ad nostrum locum Pindarus, qui de quattuor pueris quos prostravisset Aristomenes ita loquitur: κατὰ λαύρας, inquit, ἐχθρῶν ἀπάροροι πτώσσουντι συμφορᾷ δεδαιγμένοι (P. VIII, 90). Libenter et sæpe fecerunt Hebræi scriptores, ut de liberatione a metu et periculo loquentes translationibus a viis publicis et amplis spatiis uterentur. Ita Davides in *Psalmo* xxxi. v. 9: *he-hemad-tā bam-mer* "hāv raglāi", i. e. "statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos." Et quum Isaacus libertatem putei fodendi jam tandem obtinuisset sine rixâ et contentione, nomen ei *Rēhōbōwth* imposuit, i. e. *latas vias*: dicebat enim: "amplum nobis locum Jehova concessit" (*Gen.* xxvi. 22). Quod ad Israelitas attinet, non jam post partam Deboræ victoriam in montium cavernis latitabant, sed in vicos suos per vias publicas descendebant (v. 10, 11). Quod erat apertum recuperatæ libertatis et commercii testimonium. Sed ad propiorem hujus rei contemplationem proximum nos comma adducet.

v. 7. De verbo פְּרוֹן, *ph'rāzōn*, trinæ sunt interpretum sententiæ. Prima sequitur LXX. et Vulgatum, a quibus hæc vox per δυνάτοί, *fortes*, exprimitur; altera versione Chaldæi nititur, quæ verba פְּרוּם et פְּרוֹת, synonyma, ut videtur, hujus פְּרוֹן, per *pagos* explicat; tertia, Syrum Arabemque interpretem secuta, nostrum vocabulum per *solitudinem* vel *planitiem* transfert. Quum hoc idem פְּרוֹן in versu etiam undecimo occurrat, vix fieri potest, ut aliam hic præ se ferat significationem. Quænam igitur interpretatio in utrumque versum optime quadrabit? Imprimis, ad verbum חֲדָלָהּ, *hād'lā*, a priori versu repetitum, animadvertere

oportebit. Quis crediderit poetriam in tali iteratione eodem verbo diverso sensu usam fuisse? Quum igitur **הָדְלִי אֶרְחוֹת**, *hādli 'harā'hōth*, valeat “derelictæ” vel “desertæ erant viæ,” necesse est ut per *hādli ph'razōn* simile quid significare voluerit Debōra. Equidem nullus sum dubius quin *ph'razōn* quasi nomen proprium esset, quæ designaret illam regionem ubi septentrionales *Perizitæ*, in apertos pagos, i. e. **פְּרִזוֹת**, *p'razōth*, distributi, sylvestres campos habitabant. Nomen autem collectivum cum verbo plurali construi posse notissimum est. Ita in versu undecimo *jāredū 'ham-J'hōvāh*. Bene igitur codex Alexandrinus hæc verba reddidit per *ἐξέλειπεν Φράζων*, i. e. “derelicta est regio pagana,” nam in montes sese receperunt pagani qui olim aperta rura incoluerant (cf. I *Sam.* xiii. 6). Inde, ut suspicor, collectæ sunt fortissimæ illæ lignatorum legiones quæ, de Tabore descendentes, in Sisræ exercitum tam validum ac prosperum impetum fecerunt. Quid igitur aptius quam ut illorum virtutes in versu undecimo extollerentur? Sed de hac re in suo loco. Ad versum octavum pergamus.

v. 8. Verborum **יִבְחַר אֱלֹהִים תְּרִשִּׁים**, *ji-vhar 'helōhīm 'hādāshīm*, duplex interpretatio in commentariis circumfertur. Nam dum nonnulli adjectivum *hadāshīm* neutraliter accipiunt, hac significatione “Deus sibi elegit nova,” scil. novas res, plerique illud adjectivum nomini *'helohīm* pro epitheto apponunt, hanc clausulam ita reddentes: “Elegit” scil. populus Israel “deos novos.” Illa interpretatio præcipue innititur loco *Jeremie*, xxxi. 22: *bārā'h J'hōvah 'hādāshāh bā-'hāretz; nēqēvāh tēšōvōv gāver*, “creavit Jehova novi quid in terris, femina tuetur virum.” Provocant etiam hujus interpretationis adstipulatores ad summam Cantici nostri perorationem, nempe ad liberationem Israelitarum per duas mulieres patratam, quæ pro novâ atque inauditâ re habenda esset. Præterea, si *'helōhīm* accusativus est, desiderant nominativum verbi *ji-vhar*. Prioris opinionis defensio fere hæc est: neque enim audiendus est ille^a, qui pro *hadāshīm*, id quod eodem pertinere arbitratur, *'hannāshīm*, i. e. “mulieres,” legendum censet. Ad alteram interpretationem sustinendam locum allegant *Deuteronomiæ*, xxxii. 17:

^a Kemink, p. 47.

יִזְבְּחוּ לַשְׂדִּים לֹא אֱלֹהִים
 אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם
 חֲדָשִׁים מִקֶּרֶב בָּאוּ
 לֹא שִׁעְרוּם אֲבֹתֵיכֶם

*izbē'hū las-shēdīm lōh 'helōah
 'helōhīm lō'h yēdā'hūm
 'hādāshīm miq-qārōv bā'hū
 lō'h sē'hārum 'hāvōthēkem*

“Sacrificabant dæmonibus, non Deo.

“Deum non noverunt!

“Novi e viciniā venerunt;

“Non timuerunt eos majores vestri.”

Qui quidem versus non modo confirmat, verum etiam explicat, phrasin illam *'helōhīm 'hādāshīm*. Nec satis cogitaverunt ii, qui in priorem sententiam pedibus eunt, quantopere hic sensus cum totius Cantici intentione congruat. Nam falsorum deorum cultum præcipue in causa fuisse, cur Jehova Israelitas suos Jabino opprimendos traderet, vel ex quarti capituli initio satis liquet. Et in toto Judicum libro calamitas bellica idololatriam premit comes (ii, 11, 18; iii. 7, 8, 12; vi. 1, 2; x. 6; xiii. 1). Alioqui particula *זָ, 'hāz*, in proximā clausulā, justā explanatione careret. Nam hæc particula, quæ pronomini *זֶה, zeh*, affinis est, valet “tunc,” “postea,” et “idcirco,” quia effectus causā posterior est. Ita igitur vates nostra vult dicere; “simulatque Israelitæ novos deos elegerant,” (i. e. in idololatriam et dæmonum cultum lapsi erant), “tunc, *'hāz*, illico bellum erat ante portas,” i. e. in urbes suas coacti erant, ibique expugnati; “quo facto, omni armaturā nudati sunt.” At si quis subjectum verbi *jī-v'har* ægre hic desiderari putabit, in promptu est remedium. Quid enim facilius quam reponere nomen *יִשְׂרָאֵל* post verbum *jīv'har*? Nam literarum ductus ad unguem repræsentat hoc verbum cum primā sequentis vocabuli syllabā conjunctum: sic

יִשְׂרָאֵל
 יַבְחָרָאֵל

Neque enim magnopere differunt *shin* et *beth* cum *heth* conjuncta. Et, ut mihi quidem videtur, concinnior fiet ipse versiculi numerus si eum ita scriptum putamus:

jivhar Isrâ'hél 'helôhim 'hadáshim.

Obiter moneo quadraginta illa hominum millia (*'harbâ'him 'heleph*) hic, ut sæpe alibi, numerum quemlibet magnum designare.

vv. 9—11. In tribus, qui sequuntur, versibus, junctam habemus et cohærentem sibi pericopen, quam dividere nolo. Quoniam neque hujus loci neque officii mei est enumerare, quot horum verborum interpretationes adhuc excogitatae sint, “quæ non possint non falsæ esse omnes, nisi forte una earum vera reperiatur⁹,” satius habeo meam rationem, quæ a priorum omnium sententiis toto cœlo discrepat, seorsim et quam potero luculentissime exponere.

Ac primum moneo bonos illos punctatores, quum sub nomine *J'hôvâh* (v. 9), atque iterum sub verbo *si'hu* (v. 10), accentum *silluk* posuerint, perniciosâ utrobique intercapedine constructionem abrupisse. Quod contra, luce clarius est tam sensum quam numerum absolutum esse verbis quæ hanc pericopen inchoant:

לְבִי לְחֻקֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל
הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים בָּעַם

libb-i' lê-'hówqčqé Isrâ'hél,
ham-mith-nad'vîm bá-'hám.

Nam phrasis *libb-i' lê* idem valet ac *libbî 'héth* (*Jud.* xvi. 15) et significat “vere diligo,” “summopere faveo.” Deinde exhortatio illa: *bârākû J'hôvâh*, ad sequentia pertinet, eodem modo, quo in *Psalms* ciii. et cxxxv. Similiter *si'hu* ad undecimum comma transferendum est; ita ut lineolarum ordo hoc modo decurrat:

בָּרְכוּ יְהוָה רַבֵּי אֲתָנוֹת צְהָרוֹת
יִשְׁבִּי עַל-מִדִּין וְהִלְכִי עַל-דֶּרֶךְ
שִׁיחוּ מִקּוֹל מַחְצִצִּים בֵּין מַשְׁאָפִּים

bârāk-û J'hôvâh! rók've' 'hăthônôwth tzêhórôwth,
jôsh've' "hal-middîn, w'hól'kē' "hal-derek;
si'hû, miq-qôwl m'hatzetzîm bēn mask'habbîm.

⁹ Hermann, *Opuscula*, Vol. v., p. 129.

Nam prophetissæ sententia est hæc: "Summopere faveo ducibus Israelitarum, atque iis e populo qui voluntariam militiam professi sunt" (ante *ham-mith-nadvim* supplenda est præpositio *lē*). "Vos autem laudate J'hovam, vos qui lautis divitiis fruimini, qui in iudicio sedetis, qui liberum jam tandem inter vos exercetis commercium, meditaminor, propter jubilationes lignatorum inter fluminum alluvies." In ultimis verbis rite interpretandis totius rei cardo vertitur. Vix enim dici potest quantopere viri doctissimi in hoc loco dissideant. Quæ illi hallucinati sunt, ea per me licet oblivioso mersa silentio jaceant. Sed quid est illud: *miqqôwl m'chatzetzi'm bē'n mash'habbi'm*? Radix paragogica *חֲצִיץ* præterea nonnisi bis occurrit: et utrobique cum quâdam divisionis et partitionis significatione conjuncta est (*Prov.* xxx. 27; *Job.* xxi. 21). Sed crebrius invenitur eadem radix sub formâ *חֲצַב*, *'hâtzav*, cum "cædendi" significatione. Ita participium *'hôtzēv* denotat vel *lapididam* (*II Reg.* xii. 13) vel *lignatorem* (*Ies.* x. 15) vel utrumque (*I Reg.* v. 29). Ita, pro solito *garzen* (*גֶּרֶן*), "ascia," recentiores dicebant *חֲצִיצָה*, *'hatzi'tzáh*. Ut supra vidimus, *'Harósheth* oppidum designat, ubi Sisra fabricationem lignorum administrabat. Eodem modo explicandum est *'Hatzätzôn-Támâr*, nomen oppidi in deserto tribus Judæ siti, et postea *'heín-g'di'* dicti. Nomen enim *'Hatzatzon-Tamar*, i. e. *Amputatio Palmæ*, spectat ad palmarum, quæ Engaddæ abundabant, excisionem. Quapropter non video quid impediât quominus interpretemur *m'chatzetzi'm* eodem modo ac *כֹּרְתֵי הָעֵצִים*, *kôrē-thē' ha-'hétzi'm*, qui *lignicidæ* sunt (*II Paralip.* ii. 9). Vocabulum *מִשְׁחָבִים* *mash'habbi'm* duntaxat hoc loco occurrit. Sed sæpius reperitur radix *שָׁחַב*, *shá'hav*, vi nativâ *effundendi aquam*, et ejusdem stirpis *שָׁחַף*, *shá'haph*, quæ significationem cognatam *inkhiandi* præ se fert. Tam a præpositione *bē'n*, quæ precedit, quam ex adverbio pronominali *shám*, quod sequitur, satis constat *locum* quendam significari, ubi congregati essent illi lignatores: et pluralis numerus indicat plures fuisse *mash'habbi'm*, inter quos clamor iste auditus est. Equidem haud dispicio, quidnam aliud significari queat quam *aquæ undique effusæ*, vel, quod eodem redit, *late patens fluminum exundatio*. Verum enim vero, si ad vicesimum et sequentem versum animadvertitis, vix credo dubitabitis quin in

pugnâ illâ, quæ inter Baraquum et Sisram commissa est, densissimi imbres resolutis nubibus caderent, unde Quisho ille riparum suarum marginem desereret, et in apertos campos profusus esset. Quod igitur Pharaoni in mari Erythræo accidit, idem fere Sisræ curribus impedimento fuisse putandum est. Aquis enim incurrentibus nonnisi admodum difficile pedem poterant promovere. Josephus in *Archæologiâ* suâ alias enarrat causas, quapropter victoria Baraqui facilius conciliata sit. Ita enim describit pugnam. “Magna,” inquit, “tempestas ingruit, cum largo imbri et grandine. Ventusque in adversos Cananitarum vultus pluviam egit, quæ oculis eorum caliginem objiceret, ita ut jacula et fundæ illis nulli essent usui. Gravis etiam armaturæ milites, præ torpore, gladiis uti non poterant. Israelitas vero tempestas, ut quæ terga eorum diverberaret, et minus offendeat, et inde majores animos sumebant, cogitantes Deum sibi in auxilium venisse; adeo ut, in medios hostes irruentes, ingentem eorum stragem ederent.” Et Josephus quidem ita (v. 5, § 4¹⁰). Sed e carmine ipso facile colligatis subitanæ fluviorum alluviei hostium copias devolvisse. Prælium enim commissum est “in *Taⁿhanâk* super aquas Megiddonis,” i. e. inter duo brachia Quishonis fluvii. Nam Quisho ille in radicibus montis Taboris ortum habet, deinde vero complura in se brachia colligens, uno alveo ad Septentriones versus defertur, et mari se Mediterraneo immiscet¹¹. Quum igitur Baraquus in Tabore monte castra sua posuisset, inde crescentem aquarum alluviei quam facillime potuit despicere, et eum copiis descendens illico hostes ad incitas redegit. Stellæ enim, i. e. tempestas, pro eo pugnabant, ita ut quasi Hyadum auspiciis triumpharet. Itaque, quum Debora suos cives admonere vellet, ut pro tali victoriâ Deo gratias agerent, quid-

¹⁰ προσμιγνόντων αὐτῶν χεῖμων ἐπιγίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα. τὸν τε ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἤλαυνε τῶν Χαναανίων ἄνεμος, ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν, ὡς τὰς τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας. οἱ τε ὀπλῖται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ εἶχον. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας ἡττὸν τε ἐβλάπτε κατόπιν γινόμενος ὁ χεῖμων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐννοίαν τῆς βοήθειας τοῦ Θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάβανον ὥστε εἰς μέσους ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.

¹¹ Ut Brocardus ait: “Quisho colligit plures aquas, quia a monte Ephraim et a locis Samariæ propinquieribus atque a toto campo Esdrelon confluent plurimæ aquæ, et recipiuntur in hunc unum torrentem.” (Apud Winer. s. v.)

nam melius faceret, quam ut eos ad meditationem exhortaretur “propter lætum lignatorum clamorem inter effusas Quishonis aquas?” Neque illud omittendum est quod viatores Palæstinam Septentrionalem peragrans de Quishonis inundationibus traderunt. Bene enim ad rem nostram monent “hunc torrentem, per se parvum, imbrium copiosâ effusione subinde ita intumescere, ut campos inundet rapidisque fluctibus quæcunque sibi objecta auferrat¹².” Quod autem in versu unetvicesimo Quisho ille *na'hal qēdū-mīm* vocatur, in primis observandum est perperam fecisse LXX. qui *χειμάρρους ἀρχαίων* in versione posuerint, ac si legeretur *na'hal qedem*. Ita in *Deuteronomiâ* (xxxiii. 15) *har'rē' qedem* sunt *montes antiqui, æterni*. Si per linguæ indolem liceret talem huic loco interpretationem injungere, contextus ipse a tam frigidâ explicatione refugeret. Quum pluralis iste קְדֻמִּים τῶν ἀπαξ λεγομένων numero adscribendus sit, interpretatio quærenda est, quæ et cum contextu optime congruat, et accommodata sit ad notas radices קָדַם significationes. Jam vero radix *qādām* significat *ante ire, præire*, vel loco vel tempore. Deinde usurpatur vi obviam veniendi, de eo qui aut auxiliaturus est aut hostiliter adorturus. Id quod præcipue valet in formis causalibus *Pi'hel* et *Hiph'hil*. Ita ut jure dubites utrum *qādīm*, “Eurus,” ab eo derivarit suum nomen quod in Asiâ Occidentali maribusque vicinis ventorum longe vehementissimus est ille Euroclydon, an quod epitheton *qādīm* per se quemvis grassantem impetum designat. Equidem ad priorem sententiam sum pronior, etsi scio nomen *qādīm*, de quâvis venti violentiâ prædicari posse, sive is ventus ab Oriente sive aliunde descendat. Exempli gratiâ, in quarto decimo capitulo *Exodi* (v. 21) legimus Jehovam per totam noctem Erythræum mare repressisse *bē-rūa'h qādīm*, “ubi, ut Clericus demonstravit, ventus Orientalis intelligi non potest, quippe qui aquas in littus impulisset, minime vero ab eo depulisset¹³.” Si igitur *qādīm* a cujusdam venti impetu ad quamlibet ventorum violentiam exprimendam transferri potuit, quid impedit quominus ad effusas torrentis undas describendas adhibeatur? Ergo, sive repones *qādīmīm* a singulari *qādīm*,

¹² Shaw, apud Hollmann. p. 45.

¹³ Kemink, p. 70.

sen in *gadûmîm* acquieveris, sententia poetriæ eodem redibit : nempe depinget fluvii erumpentis violentiam : quum

... torrens undis pluvialibus auctus,
Aut nive quæ zephyro victa repente fluit,
Per sata, perque vias fertur, nec, ut ante solebat,
Riparum clausas margine finit aquas.

Neque negligendum est, quod Josephus de vento in adversos Cananitarum vultus pluviam agente in loco supra citato tradidit. Ita Quisho vel "torrens vehementium ventorum," vel "torrens virium" appellabitur, et, quomodocunque nuncupatus, ferreos Sisræ currus ita retardavit, ut dux ipse vehiculo descendere et pedibus fugere coactus sit. Sed, ut redeam ad versum undecimum, ita pergit Debora : "quum victoria inter inundationes parta esset, ibi laudabant" (*shâm jethannû*, tempora continuo) "vindicationes Jehovæ, vindicationes pagorum ejus in Israel ; postea descendit" (*hâz jârêdû*, tempore primario de absolutâ actione) "ad portas suas populus Jehovæ." Nomen plurale, *tzid'qôth*, quod quasi forense vocabulum est, usurpatur hic de justo belli exitu. Judex erat Jehovah, qui litem inter suum populum et Cananitas dirimeret ; illos in libertatem vindicaret, hos extremis pœnis affligeret,—scilicet, Baraquo tanquam captivos traderet. Simili affectu Davides apud *Samuelem*, libro I, cap. xxv. v. 39 : "Gratias ago," inquit, "Jehovæ qui causam meam egit, et opprobrium a Nabale mihi illatum vindicavit, eique malum quod meruerat rependit." Perperam igitur Ewaldus¹⁴ pro *sh'vî' tzaddîq* (שְׁבִי צַדִּיק) in *Iesaiæ* cap. xlix. v. 24, reponendum censet *sh'vî' hârîtz* ex versu sequenti. Quod quærun Lexicographi quænam sit vera radicis צַדִּיק etymologia, obiter moneo hoc verbum ejusdem prosapiæ esse atque Indo-Germanicum illud *sad* vel *sed*. Cum affixâ *qoph*, significationem habet firmiter et quasi radicitus insistendi, quo sensu opponitur verbis *ra'h* et *râsha'h*, quæ incertum potius errorem indicant. Cum affixâ *he*, *tzâdâh* valet "insidiari," ubi paulo mutatam habetis ejusdem sensus explicationem.

¹⁴ *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, Vol. II. p. 446.

v. 13. Post poeticam acclamationem in commate duodecimo, narratio procedit ita in versu sequente:

אֶזְרָר שָׂרִיד לְאֲדִירִים
עַם יְהוָה יִרֶר לִי בַּגִּבּוֹרִים

'ház j́arad sári'd lě-'hadirím;

'ham-J'hóvâh j́arad lî bag-gibbórîm.

ubi bis repono יִרֶר, *j́arad*, pro יָרַד, *j́rad*, et accentum *athnach*, sub *'ham* positum, ad *le'hadirím* transfero. Ex his verbis videas licet Baraqui victoriam non sine eximiâ suorum jacturâ partam esse. Errant igitur qui hanc clausulam ad futurum tempus referunt. Repetitio particulæ *'ház* satis demonstrat poetriam hoc loco cecinisse de proximo victoriæ suæ eventu. Inter Quishonis inundationes sibi invicem acclamabant lignatores illi, qui Sisram devicerant. Ibi laudabant vindicationes J'hovæ; deinde populus ad urbes suas reversus est; deinde ad reliquias heroum salutandas populus J'hovæ obviam venit.

De recensione Israelitarum, quæ sequitur, fere nihil est quod dicendum sit. Pugnæ ipsius descriptionem jam antea percurri. Sed execrationem illam, quæ Ja^helæ laudes anticipat, propius contemplari oportebit.

v. 23. In textu nostro legimus *'hórú Méróz, 'hórú 'hárour jeshvei-há, kí ló'h-vá'hú lěⁿhez'rath J'hovâh bag-gibbórîm* (אֲרוֹ מֶרוֹז—כִּי לֹא-בָאוּ לְעִזְרַת יְהוָה בַּגִּבּוֹרִים). Urbs illa *Meroz* ubi sita sit, nemini adhuc innotuit. Sententiâ autem horum verborum nihil planius esse potest. Fuerunt quidam homines, qui, quum profugos hostes, per suos agros passim palantes, facillime opprimere possent, non eo erant erga Israelitas studio, ut Cananitarum cladem augere vellent, sed potius per fines suos liberum devictis transitum præberent. Longe aliter Ja^hela, qui ducem ipsum vel contra hospitii jus pere-mit. Itaque hæc solemnī prece et bonis ominibus cumulata est: illi vero diris devoentur, Jehovah ipsius nomine. Ita enim explicandam esse locutionem יְהוָה מִלֵּאָדָּי cuius facile probabitur. Verissime olim Herderus: “Omne symbolum,” inquit, “sive res visibilis, sub quâ Deus invisibilis apparet, vocatur יְהוָה מִלֵּאָדָּי nuncius

sive legatus Jehovæ ¹⁵.” Homines eos quos ita execratur Vates, Canaanitas fuisse, non Hebræos, ipse loci hujus parallelismus ostendit. Præterea, Israelitarum merita et peccata jam antea enumerantur. Hic agitur de mixtis Galilææ incolis, quorum per agros transire debebat victus Sisræ exercitus. Jam vero, quum pugna commissa esset in Taⁿhanâk, ad aquas Megiddonis, fugati autem hostes ^eHatzorem versus, i. e. in Septentrionalem regionem discurrerent (—mira est enim ⁿHendoris mentio in *Psalmo* lxxxiii. v. 10), devota illa ultioni urbs inter Taⁿhanâk et Chatzorem sita fuerit necesse est. Si autem ad *Josua* librum, cap. xii. v. 19 respicitis, reges debellatos hoc ordine recensitos invenietis: “Rex Madonis, rex ^eHatzoris, rex Shimronis-Meronis, rex Akshaphi, rex Taⁿhanaki, rex Megiddonis.” Atque iterum in c. xi. v. 1, rex ^eHatzoris convenit reges Madonis, Shimronis, et Akshaphi. Fuit igitur urbs quædam, Shimron-Meron, in ipsâ pugnae viciniâ: eamque inter possessiones Zebulonitarum fuisse cognovimus e *Josua* capitulo undevicesimo v. 15, ubi inter Nahalal et Jidala enumeratur. Quum igitur in nomine מֶרֶז מֶרֶז Mer’hōwn, non agnoscat Q^ri litteram נ, ^h, aleph, et fere nihil intersit inter ך et ך finale, equidem non dubitarem pro מֶרֶז מֶרֶז Mērō^wz in nostro loco rescribere מֶרֶז מֶרֶז Mērō^wn, et has imprecationes ad urbem Shimron-M^ron, in finibus Zebulonitarum, transferre ¹⁶. In quo si verum vidi, liberius irriseritis egregium illum interpretem, qui imprecationis effectum in eo se reperisse putavit, quod nemini adhuc Geographorum innotuisset urbs devota Mērōz!

vv. 28—30. Ultima Cantici strophe matrem Sisræ cum matronis suis colloquentem inducit. Per fenestræ cancellos in viam ^eHaroshethæ publicam prospiciens frustra triumphantem filii sui reditum animo præcipit, et dum de cunctatione curruum ferreorum, qui antea tam sæpe spoliis onusti reversi erant, cum suis mulieribus conqueritur, vanam sibi victoriæ imaginem effingit. Etsi tale poetriæ artificium per se quivis facile intelligat, equidem deperditæ

¹⁵ *Geist der Hebr. Poesie*, II. p. 46.

¹⁶ Hanc conjecturam obiter, et dubitanter ille quidem, occupaverat Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. II. p. 381.

historiæ fragmentum in hoc exitu Carminis mihi deprehendisse videor. Nempe, quum victores Israelitæ in ‘Haroshetham irruerunt, ibi omnia in triumphum apparata invenerunt, et quæ erant inmani crudelitate, matres uxoresque hostium ex fenestris, unde, sicut Isabela illa in urbe Jesreelæ, in vicos despectabant (II Reg. ix. 30, sqq.), vestibus illis acu pictis, quas olim pro prædæ parte acceperant, exutas ac nudatas precipitaverunt. Quod verum tricesimum accuratius inspicientibus haud scio an probare queam. In hoc commate verborum ordinem conturbatum esse jam ante viderunt alii, inter quos complures¹⁷ in hunc modum versiculos digresserunt :

הָלֹא יִמְצְאוּ יַחֲלֹקֵי שָׁלָל
 רַחֵם רַחֲמָתִים לְרֹאשׁ גִּבּוֹר שָׁלָל
 צַבֵּעַ צַבָּעִים לְסִיסְרָה שָׁלָל
 רַקְמָה רַקְמָתִים לְצִנּוֹרֵי שָׁלָל

Quæ conjectura “eo se commendat, quod sic singula membra eodem vocabulo finiantur, atque dualis singulari in tertio et quarto membro apponatur, ut in secundo factum est. Præterea, eâ ratione tollitur difficultas, quæ a nemine recte explicata videtur, voces primum צַבָּעִים רַקְמָה, deinde vero צַבֵּעַ רַקְמָתִים juxta se esse positas¹⁸.” Sed tametsi hanc rationem veram esse arbitror, nemo tamen, ut mihi videtur, plenam dedit hujus commatis interpretationem. Omnes enim¹⁹ ita exponunt versiculum secundum:

¹⁷ Meursingius, Wijers, Keminkius, alii.

¹⁸ Kemink, p. 80.

¹⁹ Præter Kennicottum, qui plane mirabilem hujus clausulæ interpretationem excogitavit (*Remarks on Select Passages of the Old Testament*, Oxf. 1787): “embroidery, double embroidery, for the captain’s head!” Ut videtur, pro רַחֵם anticipat רַקְמָה, ex versiculo ultimo: ita enim loquitur:

“There being no authority for rendering the words *a damsel* or *two damsels*, and the words in Hebrew being very much like two other words in this same verse, which make excellent sense here, it seems highly probable that they were originally the same.” Si nostrum *woman*, quod ab antiquo *wifman* nolo derivatum, ab utero vel “womb” originem duxit, nihil aliud est hæc nominis רַחֵם synecdoche: et profecto longe decentior est hæc femineæ

designatio, quam ut cum vulgari נִקְבָּה comparetur.

“puellam, immo duas puellas unicuique viro.” Equidem non nego fieri posse ut phrasis illa *rô'hsh gever* tali significatione usurpetur. Nam גִּלְגֹּלֶת *gulgôleth*, “cranium,” ad singulos designandos adhibetur, et non adeo diversum est illud in libro primo *Paralipomenôn* xii. 23: *mi-ep'rei râ'hshei he'hâlutz la-tzâvâ'h*, ubi numerus militum armatorum designatur. Sed si quando ראשׁ *ra'sh* in numero singulari vocabulo cuius apponitur, quod classem, familiam, vel ordinem hominum denotat, intelligimus eum, qui ordinis illius principatum obtinet. Ita *rô'hsh 'hâvô'th* est caput sive princeps familiæ; *kôhên ha-rô'hsh* vel simpliciter *ha-rô'hsh* est summus sacerdos: et sæpius invenimus similem locutionem in militiæ ducibus describendis, qui *rô'hshê' hag-gibbôri'm* appellantur. Itaque, in hoc loco, nulla interpretatio vocum *rô'hsh gever* linguæ ipsius legibus accommodatior erit, quam si hanc designationem de summo ac principe eorum prædicari autumamus, quos Jeremia vocat (xli. 16) *gêvârîm 'han'shê' ham-mil'hâmâh*. Sed et ipse contextus simile quid efflagitat. Habemus enim hic amplissimæ dignitatis mulierem de reditu summi ducis ejusdemque filii sui hariolantem. Quid tandem tali personæ accommodatius quam ut de imperatoris spoliis et de suâ prædæ participatione loqueretur? Nam sic ait:

“Nonne inveniunt, dividunt prædam?

Una puella, immo duæ puellæ fortissimo duci præda!

Vestis tincta, immo duæ vestes tinctæ Sisræ præda!

Vestis acu picta, immo duæ vestes acu pictæ meo collo præda!”

Imprimis moneo, incredibile esse duas captivas singulis militibus unquam obtigisse. Illud aptius esset γέρας, si quis inter bellatores sese dignissimum præstiterat, cui ἀριστεία deferrentur. Profecto ne ducum quidem ipsorum unusquisque pro suâ portione duas Briseidas postulare potuit. Naaman ipse, exercitus Syri dux, vir magnæ auctoritatis apud dominum suum, unam duntaxat captivam Israeliticam habebat (II *Reg.* c. v.). Pro eximio sane præmio æstimandum erat, si cui duæ puellæ obtigerant. Et plane apparet duales illas voces in hoc commate ad amplificandam sententiam usurpatas esse. Atque haud scio an optime illustretur hæc exaggeratio, narratiunculâ quâdam quam in recentiori Germanorum historiâ inveni, quam miror neminem tot Teutonum, qui hunc versum explanare conati sunt, in memoriam revocasse. Post

prælium Ampfingense A.D. MCCCXII. quo Ludovicus, Boiorum dux, Fridericum Austriacum debellavit, victor exercitus nihil per pagos quærens pro cibo invenire poterat præter gallinarum ova. Jam vero Schweppermannus quidam omnium consensu sese fortissimum præbuerat. Quum igitur Ludovicus Imperator rescivisset nihil sese nisi ova pro comætu habiturum, ita, barbaro quodam numero usus, alimentorum distributionem ordinavit :

“Jedem Mann ein Ey,
Dem frommen Schweppermann zwei.”

i. e. “Date in singulos milites singula ova; duo autem fortissimo nostro Schweppermannno.” Quæ verba Schweppermannni sepulcro insculpta ad hoc diei leguntur¹⁸. Et eandem prædæ auctionem hoc loco innui credibile est. Quo posito, novam his versiculis lucem conciliamus. Duas, inquit, illi qui ἀριστεῖα meruerit, nominatim Sisræ meo, puellas concedet exercitus. Sed apportabit præterea duas vestes pro se ipso et duas pro matre suâ! Etsi plures criticorum jam antea reposuerunt לְצִנְאֵרִי letzavâ'hrî “meo collo,” pro statu plurali constructo לְצִנְאֵרִי letzav'hré', ut vulgo legitur, nemini tamen adhuc suboluit, quantopere hæc emendatio propterea se commendet, quod duo vestium genera commemorentur. Nam צִנְעָה tzeva'h, est “vestis murice colorata,” quali libenter amictus esset rex vel imperator. Sed רִקְמָה riqmâh, est “vestis acu variegata,” quales arte adornabant et ipsæ gerebant feminae. Idem vocabulum eodem sensu ex Arabicâ linguâ mutuo sumpserunt

¹⁸ Sepulcro Schweppermannni in monasterio Castellensi, hi versus incisi sunt :

“Hie leit begraben Herr Seyfried Schweppermann,
Alles Thuns und Wandels lobesann,
Ein Ritter keck und fest,
Der bei Gammelsdorf und Ampfingen
Im Streite that das Besst.
Er ist nun todt
Den Gott genad.
Jedem Mann ein Ey
Dem frommen Schweppermann zwei.”

Itali Hispanique hodierni, apud quos *ricamare* est ποικίλλειν. Sidonias mulieres in his vestibus adornandis operam suam ponere solitas esse vel ex Homero discimus (*Il.* vi. 289) :

αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσατο κηῶντα,
 ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι, παμποίκιλα **Φ**έργα γυναικῶν
 Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
 ἦγαγε Σιδονίηθεν.

Ubi etiam apparet cui usui destinati essent tales πέπλοι, nempe mulieribus et deabus, non item hominibus. Et quum Haroshetha non ita longe abesset ab urbe Sidone, facile crediderim victores Israelitas multas ibi acui pictas vestes invenisse, quas inter suas feminas Baraquus alique ductores partiebantur. Auctor *Psalmi* lxxviii, qui plures nostri Carminis locos imitatione expressit, optimum hic commentarium subministrat. Ita enim vel de hac vel de aliâ nescio quâ Israelitarum victoriâ loquitur (vv. 12—14) :

“Reges cum exercitibus suis fugiunt, fugiunt!
 Et matronæ domiscinæ prædam partiuntur!
 Etiam si domesticis antea ministeriis sordidatæ erant,
 Hodie deargentatæ sunt et deauratæ, sicut columbarum pennæ.
 Quum regum ibi copias dissipasset Omnipotens,
 Canduit unaquæque mulier ceu nix in Tsalmonis vertice.”

Unde videmus, quam prolixâ spe veteres illi Israelitæ futurum victoriæ proventum contemplari solerent. Quod autem Psaltes ille prædæ partitionem quasi historice describit, Debora vero irritas hostium opiniones irridet, similem habemus inversionem in nostro Carmine v. 19: “Venerunt reges et pugnarunt, sed ne frustulum quidem argenti lucrati sunt,” pro quo Psalmi auctor absque omni negatione devictos hostes argenti frustra pro tributo submissee præstantes inducit (v. 31).

Sed hæc hætenus. Equidem labebar longius, nisi me jam retinisset clepsydre decrescens aquula, quâ imperante ad finem festino, etiamsi fortasse plura omisi quæ etiam nunc dicenda restant. Quodsi nova hæc Carminis difficillimi interpretatio limatis eruditorum ingeniis comprobata erit, nihil mihi gratius vel acceptius contingere poterit: sin minus, *μεγάλων*, ut ait Longinus²¹, ἀπολισθαίνειν ὁμῶς εὐγενὲς ἀμάρτημα.

²¹ *De Sublim.* § 3.

Vos autem, carissimi Commilitones, qui inter easdem mecum Academ^{ic} sylvas eodem instrumento verum quæsivistis, ex hoc tantillo documento perspiciatis licet, quam facile latior illa philologiæ profanæ methodus ad sacras literas enodandas transferri queat. Sed vos etiam atque etiam adhortor, ut, quo studio, quo acumine in Græcos scriptores incumbitis, eadem exerceatis in criticâ Bibliorum interpretatione. Nullo unquam tempore sacro-sancta Fides magis desiderabat solidam sanæ doctrinæ armaturam. En! hostes ante portas. En! intra muros proditores. Cavete ergo ne Hermes vester hebetes tradat ac mutilos mucrones. Cavete ne sub meridiano scientiarum sole cæcutientes, micantem mysticæ traditionis facem frustra accendatis. Cessatum usque adhuc est: nunc porro expergisciminor, Commilitones! Nam perniciosus ille hujus ævi alastor, spiritus ille socordiæ, ignaviæ, malitiæ, superstitionis, qui olim per arida loca solus secum spatiabatur, inter vos hodie, inter vos, inquam, Academici, meditabundus obambulat, quærens quos nexos atque addictos in servitutem vindicet.

FINIS.

By the same Author.

I.

THE THEATRE OF THE GREEKS, with a New Introduction and other Alterations. Sixth Edition. (*In the Press.*)

II.

THE NEW CRATYLUS; or Contributions towards a more accurate knowledge of the Greek Language. Second Edition, enlarged and improved. (*Preparing for Publication.*)

III.

ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ: Pindar's Epinician or Triumphal Odes; together with the Fragments of his lost Compositions; revised and explained.

IV.

VARRONIANUS; a Critical and Historical Introduction to the Philological Study of the Latin Language.

V.

CONSTRUCTIONIS GRÆCÆ PRÆCEPTA.

VI.

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES, in Greek and English, with an Introduction and Notes.

VII.

ÆSCHYLI EUMENIDES (a Corrected Text).

VIII.

A COMPLETE GREEK GRAMMAR for the Use of Learners.

IX.

MASKIL LE-SOPHER; the Principles and Processes of Classical Philology applied to the Analysis of the Hebrew Language.

W. B. Donne Esq^r
With the writer's best respects

THE

HEBREW COSMOGONY

AND

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS.

by
G. Crabbe.
(son of Robt)

"Magna est Veritas, et prævalebit."

LONDON:
JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, STRAND.

MDCCCL.

LONDON:
GEORGE WOODFALL AND SON,
ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET.

P R E F A C E.

To our present leaders in science we are deeply indebted for a vast increase of scientific facts, but they have been over cautious in deducing the results of those facts. There is after all a check to that which should have no limitation, the full and free investigation of the inferences to which those data naturally lead. Our geologists have naturally shrunk from a very minute investigation of the language of Scripture, and eagerly adopted any theory that apparently accords with it. Their reserve has placed them in the false position, and gives a great advantage in recent controversies to those conscientious, but mistaken men, who would banish reason from its legitimate domain. They profess to hold the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Mosaic narrative, though not in its plenary sense, yet in a degree that the facts they give us, if drawn to their legitimate conclusion, would certainly contradict, and of course their more consistent adversaries fix them to their profession. Now, if they had the courage to declare, as they ought at all risk, that there is no possibility of reconciling the discoveries of science, even with the most enlarged sense that the Mosaic language will bear, they would then stand on firm ground, and would confute the arguments of their accusers, with the greatest ease.

From this charge of reserve should be excepted a few distinguished writers on geology; but still the most

noted leader of this science has not only withheld the natural conclusions of their facts, but appears desirous to mystify the public on points whose clear solution would lead to what might be deemed disastrous consequences. His motive may be good and justifiable in his own eyes; but there is in the English character a love of truth for its own sake, and a fearlessness in upholding it, that will not long brook any such reserve, and the sooner the whole truth is known the better in every point of view: it must be ultimately known and acknowledged too. It is the purport of the following pages to explain one or two of these apparent evasions; first, by an examination of Dr. Buckland's attempted reconciliation of the facts of Geology and Astronomy with Genesis, chap. i., in the Bridgewater Treatise. Secondly, by a brief comparison of Dr. Pritchard's, and some kindred opinions with the scriptural date of the Deluge, and the existing phenomena of human life.

If what is here stated be not substantially true, the writer admits that he is inexcusable, but he requests to be judged by the substantial truth of his facts and arguments, not by accidental errors. It is not uncommon to meet unpalatable truths by the exposition of some trifling mistake, and then to deem the obnoxious objections answered; but the subjects here touched upon are of far too much importance to be settled by anything less than an open, honest, and full confutation.

The writer may be accused of hostility to Revelation; but they are its real enemies who would perpetuate a belief in such inspiration as the evidence of our senses can disprove, and retain such opinions as must be ultimately rejected.

PART I.

THE CREATION ACCORDING TO MOSES.

THE ARGUMENT.

That every interpretation of the Mosaic Cosmogony is contradictory to physical facts, proved by an examination of Genesis, chap. i., as explained by Dr. Buckland and others, contrasted with the real meaning of the writer.

SECTION I.

WHAT WE TAKE FOR GRANTED.

It would be an idle waste of time to prove what no one but the Dean of York now attempts to controvert, viz., that this globe, under some modification, has existed and borne organized creatures, incalculable ages before the creation of man and the existing species of animals and vegetables. This discovery of geology, like that of Galileo in the heavens, was vehemently opposed at first, as contradictory to Scripture; but when the facts, as established by Cuvier especially, could be no longer controverted, the whole effort of orthodoxy was concentrated in so modifying the meaning of the Mosaic narrative as to accord with the facts which they could no longer dispute, and by this concession of the great age of the world, (which I believe is universal, with the above sole exception,) we are happily delivered from the necessity of mixing a

minute exposition of the well known geological phenomena, with the immediate purport of this inquiry, viz., the agreement of those phenomena with the true interpretation of the cosmogony of Moses.

SECTION II.

THE OLD EVASIONS NOW EXPLODED.

When it could no longer be doubted that this globe has existed ages prior to the creation of existing species of animals and vegetables, and when it was seen that this fact was palpably at variance with the literal sense of Genesis, chap. i., the first subterfuge was that by a day Moses meant an age, an indefinite period of time. Such an evasion of a minute description is monstrous; for it is expressly stated that in each day there was the evening and the morning—alternate light and darkness—and such a gross evasion would never have been thought of, but that Cuvier admitted that the Mosaic description of the successive day's work, *roughly* accorded with the succession of organized creatures as they were apparently created, viz., the most simple as vegetable forms in the lowest strata, and quadrupeds in the most recent. The accord is *rough* indeed; for there are animals, though of the lower orders, among the very first vegetable remains*; nor do birds precede quadrupeds, as in the order of Genesis i.; whilst the monstrous suppositions this interpretation would involve makes it utterly incredible. For instance, that each day being an age, and yet alternately light and dark, there was an immense duration

* In the earliest fossiliferous strata (the Grawwacke slate) are discovered not only the remains of mollusca, but of fishes.—B. T., vol. i. chap. 2, p. 18.

of uninterrupted light, and just as long a period of darkness, and that vegetables, just like the present in organic construction *, though different in species, could live and flourish during such alternation ; then, that either these wonderful days and nights were succeeded on the creation of the sun by days and nights of a common kind, or that the earth was centuries in turning on its axis, so as to make the natural day correspond with the preceding ages of preternatural light and darkness. These gross absurdities were not only gravely put forth at first, because it was admitted that ages of duration were required to account for the geological phenomena ; but the generality even of well-informed people believe *now* that this is the present received theory. In fact, there is nothing so monstrous as not to be received by those who, being prepossessed with orthodox opinions, accept any interpretation that accredited writers choose to give them. They do not give themselves the trouble to detect these gross inconsistencies.

Something similar to this last, but if possible more absurd, is the vague hypotheses, tossed out of the mouth without the least reflection, which one frequently hears, viz., that the Creator might have taken an old world, in which these remains were buried, and made it into a new world at the six days' creation described by Moses. This idea certainly does not involve the absurdity of lengthening the day and night to ages ; but

* Some vegetables, *constructed internally the same as these fossil vegetables*, will not bear even the additional light they receive from being transferred from one place to another, but must be shaded during the extra hours of the sunshine in the northern climates. How would their congeners have borne centuries of alternate sunshine and darkness ?

it supposes either that the old worn-out earth, containing these fossils, was this same globe that we inhabit now, or that the fragments of another globe were used to make the present planet. Now, if the fragments of another globe were taken, where were they before they were thus brought into use? Floating in the air, in the forms of enormous misshapen masses of stratified matter? Or was that old earth, with its strata, in the form of a globe? If so, it was of course a planet, and had its primary as the centre and cause of its motion. Was this planet taken from its own primary, or was our sun its primary? If the latter, how can it be called the fragments of an *old* world? It was *this* very world. But again; how did these creatures, embedded in this old worn-out earth, live and flourish—animals with complex eyes and vegetables that require light just as much as we require food? Of course they must have had both light and heat. Did another sun give them this light, or our sun? If the latter, it was again *our* world going round *our* sun, just as it does now; and therefore this plea solves no difficulty whatever, but brings us back to the old question—How came *this* globe to exhibit such apparent contradictions to the literal sense of the Mosaic narrative?

Multitudes of persons, keen enough on other subjects, are quite content to say, we do not know how to reconcile these things, but we are satisfied that they admit of reconciliation; for Moses was inspired, and can write nothing but truth; so we are sure the agreement will appear hereafter.

Others say; Moses, though inspired as to his capacity as a divine legislator, was not inspired to under-

stand precisely how God created the world, and therefore his errors on this subject do not involve any difficulty, or throw any suspicion on his general inspiration. They even admit that he took his narrative from imperfect and erring tradition. They forget that Moses gives God's authority for his Cosmogony, the fourth commandment being an exact summary of the doctrine in Genesis, chap. i., as will be clearly demonstrated in the next section. If it be replied that the addition to the fourth commandment, Exod. xx. 11, in which creation in six days is asserted, is not to be found in the corresponding passage in Deut. v. 14, 15, I answer, either God wrote the commandments as related in Exodus xx. 11, or he wrote them as described in Deut. v. 22. At any rate the writer contradicts himself, and gives two different versions of the words said to be written by the very finger of God, and to have been repeated literally *. (Deut. x. 4.)

Thus between indolent surmises and absurd theories, the world has (with few exceptions) permitted itself to be blind to the fact, that Moses' narrative is entirely at variance with existing phenomena, and that that error is one of the most vital importance, affecting the proof of his inspiration.

* This is really so extraordinary a circumstance that, although this discrepancy is not the immediate subject before us, it should not be, as it has been apparently, overlooked. In Exodus, xx. 11, Moses brings down the first two tables, written, as he says, by the finger of God (Deut. v. 22, and Exod. xxxii. 16), *i. e.* miraculously, and therein is the fourth commandment, just as it is in our communion service. But in Deut. v. 22, the notice of the six days' work is omitted, and another reason substituted, viz. "that thy manservant and maidservant may rest as well as thou." Did the writer forget the words that the Almighty himself engraved, or was there this difference in the second inscription, said expressly (Deut. x. 4) to have the same inscription as the first tables?

SECTION III.

THE PRESENT RECEIVED THEORY OF RECONCILEMENT.

At last the modern geologists have entirely cast off the theory built on the rough correspondence of geological phenomena with the narrative of Moses, viz., the supposition that the six days mean six ages, and the other absurd theory above specified, and they now refer all the organic remains from the lowest formation to the highest in point of position to immense periods of time, in which this earth revolved round this sun, anterior to that which they say Moses describes as the last or six days' creation; thus admitting that the *literal* interpretation of the text of Genesis i., is right, as far as regards the six days, and that they were (what is so very clearly described) six *natural* days. In conformity with this interpretation, the leading geologists hold that there were successive creative epochs anterior to the six days' creation, in which successive genera and species of organic creatures first appeared; and that there were successive deluges, in which they became extinct; that the creation described by Moses is the last of these creative epochs, in which man and the existing species of animals and vegetables first appeared, and that Moses, though he minutely describes this last creative process, is silent respecting the preceding acts of creation, except that he briefly mentions them in the first verse; thus: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."* "There," say they, "he stops, and begins

* This would certainly be, in the very face of it, a very extraordinary way of speaking of those stupendous changes, during millions of years,

to speak of the state preceding the six days, or last creation, in the second verse; "And the earth was without form and void," &c.; and describes the first act of creation in the third verse.

SECTION IV.

THE REAL MEANING OF GENESIS, CHAPTER I.

Preliminary Remarks.

Before we examine this minutely, it is right to take the fullest notice of the remarks of Dr. Buckland, who, in his *Bridgewater Treatise**, adopts the preceding or received Theory of Reconcilement, and to observe what he says in defence of his theory of the true meaning of Scripture.

1st. He remarks very justly that the *principal* object in the Mosaic Narrative was moral, not scientific; that the writer meant to impress on the Jews the truth that the whole creation, and those creatures which the Gentiles worshipped as gods, were all made by Jehovah, the God of Israel. Now, supposing it admitted that it was necessary that this truth should be positively declared, it does not follow that it was not necessary to this end that the writer should enter into the minute details of creation, or the order, time, or precedency of the several races of organic beings; because if his

in which continents have been changed into oceans, and *vice versâ*; during which the most varied organic creatures have been formed, flourished for ages, and become extinct; during which the crust of the earth has been loaded with countless species to the virtual thickness of three miles.

* In the chapter which treats of the reconciliation of Scripture with the discoveries of geology.

word had not been believed by the positive declaration of the fact that all were created by God, it would not have been the more credited on account of the particulars which he describes.

2ndly. Dr. Buckland dilates on the expediency of concealing scientific facts from that ignorant age. It is very true that it was not to be expected that the writer in adverting to the phenomena of nature, particularly of the heavenly bodies, should describe them just as they are, even if he knew all the facts since known. Such a premature revelation of physical facts would only have perplexed his readers, and perhaps made them incredulous of his authority. Nay, we may go further than Dr. Buckland, and say that it was necessary that in certain instances in the Old Testament that the physical truth should be falsified; for instance, had it been said (Joshua x. 13), that the earth stood still instead of the sun, this would have appeared such a palpable absurdity as to have led to the question of the sanity of the writer. But observe, there is one obvious limitation to this principle of silence or necessary misrepresentation, viz., It could not be necessary or expedient to conceal the real physical facts, *when they would have been just as intelligible as the popular notions, nor involved any perplexity or doubt.* For had Moses described the sun, moon and stars as created *previously* to that chaotic state which immediately preceded the last or six days' creation; and light as caused by the readmission of the temporary obscuration of the sun, it would have been just as intelligible as his actual description, and avoided the greatest inconsistencies of that narrative.

3rdly. Although Dr. Pusey, in a long note, admits that the respective words, "*bara*," created, "*asah*," made,

and “*yatsar*,” formed, were used indiscriminately in the Old Testament, yet Dr. Buckland insinuates more than once that as *bara* is a word of more force it implies more than made or re-formed in Gen. i. 1; but the following passages prove that such a distinction is altogether nugatory:—“God *created* great whales” (Gen. i. 21); “God *created* man” (Gen. i. 27); “For all these things (the heaven and the earth) hath mine hand *made*” (Isa. lxvi. 2); “To him that by wisdom *made* the heavens” (Ps. cxxxvi. 5); they are *created* now and *not from the beginning*” (Isa. xlviii. 7).

4thly. There is a short detached passage that appears to contradict this theory altogether. “He had rested from *all* his work which God *created* and *made*” (Gen. ii. 3). That is, the seventh day was a rest, not from a recent creation, but from *all* his works which God created and made; and the obvious sense of the words is that the six days include *all* his works, because the seventh is a rest from *all*.

SECTION V.

THE WORDS OF MOSES EXAMINED, AND HIS MEANING CLEARLY ASCERTAINED.

First, observe the following sentence, when written as Moses wrote it.

Genesis i. 1, 2—“In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and the earth was without form and void: and darkness was upon the face of the deep,” &c.

This is what Moses said when the artificial distinction and separation of verses is dropped. Here is no period between the word “earth” and the word “and” which

immediately follows, evidently as a portion of the first sentence. The "*and*" connects the "*beginning*" with the time when the earth was without form and void. This is the plain literal meaning of Moses' words. There is no pretext whatever for the assertion that Moses meant that incalculable ages and the most stupendous changes occurred between this "*beginning*," and the time that the earth was "*without form*." The writer connects the sentence by the word "*and*," which would never have had a full stop before it, but for the arbitrary separation into verses*.

That Moses does not begin with the declaration that God created the chaotic earth out of nothing is quite foreign to the question. He might have thought matter eternal, or he might have considered the organizing chaos as sufficient proof of Jehovah's Omnipotence; for even supposing the received notion correct, and that the first verse describes the incalculable ages and changes it involves, there is no mention of a creation out of nothing even then.

The meaning, I repeat, is evident. Moses means to describe the beginning of the *present heaven and earth*, and mentions the earth in its first state as being chaotic. We have no right whatever to assume that he meant more than he has actually said, merely because we wish to make his words accord with the facts that science has brought to light.

Is it doubted that Moses, in verse 1, meant the

* The word "And" is not the beginning of a paragraph here; for when it begins a paragraph, as in verses 3, 6, 9, 14, 20, the sign ¶ is affixed; but the "And" which begins the arbitrary division of verse 2nd is a part of the sentence, or at least the paragraph, of verse 1st. Evidently verse 1st is an exordium or summary of the details which follow, and relates to no other creation.

present heaven and the present earth? It will be quite certain if we turn to the Fourth Commandment* (Exod. xx. 11), "For in six days the Lord made (or created)† *heaven and earth*, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day." Can any one imagine that these words "heaven and earth" do not mean the *same* "heaven and earth" as in Gen. i. 1? If it cannot be doubted for a moment, that the *same* heaven and earth are meant in both passages, then we are assured on the highest authority that can be quoted‡, even by the handwriting of Jehovah, that *this* heaven and *this* earth were made in the six days' creation. What, then, becomes of this evasion of the true meaning? This Fourth Commandment decides the point in question, even without any reference to Genesis i. 1. It expressly tells us that the present Heaven and Earth and *all* that in them is, the sun, moon, and stars, all animals, vegetables, &c., were created in six natural days. But this is quite contrary to the received theory, and the physical facts. By that theory, and by the unquestionable evidence of those facts, the sun, moon, and stars, had been shining for ages, when man and the existing species of animals were first created.

But let us pursue the Mosaic narrative: Moses having described the creation of the heaven and the earth in the beginning, and that the earth was in its first state without form and void and covered with

* How decisively are the Commandments authenticated—"God spake these words, and said."

† We have seen that *Created* and *Made* are synonymous. To the plea that the first chapter of Genesis is to be considered as poetical, and therefore not to be taken too literally, we may reply by asking, Is this Fourth Commandment poetical?

‡ By what authority "quoted" is another question.

water and darkness, next describes the creation of light. "God said, Let there be light." Now, according to the received theory, there had been light ages before, even the light of this sun, which was necessary to the earth during those ages as a fulcrum of motion, as well as a source of heat and light to the countless creatures now buried in its strata. According to this theory the sun must have undergone during the "darkness" here mentioned a temporary obscuration, and when light was wanted, God did not remove that obscuration, which one would think was the obvious proceeding, but creates a *supernatural* light* for three days, retaining the darkness during the night, when according to Moses he intended to give just the same vicissitude of light and darkness only three days after this by the *natural* means.

Well, let us proceed to verse 14; "And God said let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night.... And God *made* two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he *made* the stars also. And God *set* them in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth... And the evening and the morning were the fourth day."

Here we again encounter the theory of Dr. Buckland. "*Made*," he says, "not created," but, as it were, remodelled for the last six days' creation. And on this distinction between made and created, he implies that Moses did not here mean the first creation of the sun,

* Dr. Buckland implies that this light was natural, and proceeded from the partial removal of the obscuration of the sun; but Moses means unequivocally (as we shall soon see) that the sun was not in existence till the fourth day.

moon, and stars, but only a kind of a change; while Dr. Pusey admits that Moses makes no scientific distinction between *created* and *made* and *formed*.

Well; at any rate according to the received theory and Dr. Buckland, God now *appointed* these luminaries to rule over the day and over the night. But God did not even *appoint* these luminaries for this purpose on this fourth day, because by this theory they had been appointed to this office countless ages before this last creative period; and if so, of course he neither *made* nor *set* them in the firmament at this time, because these luminaries were (as this theory holds) both made and set ages before. But as each of the six days is described as a day of work to distinguish the Sabbath, as a day of rest; and as every day's work is specified, if God neither *made* nor *set* nor *appointed*, these luminaries on the fourth day, what work did he do on that day? What did he make? The answer by this theory must be—*Nothing*.

Moses evidently meant what he has expressed in words as plain as ever were written, that God on this fourth day brought the sun, moon, and stars *first into existence*, and not only made, but set them in the firmament for the *first time* to give light on the earth. And if this be still questioned, turn we again to the Fourth Commandment, where it is said, "In *six days* the Lord made (or created) *heaven* and earth, the sea, and *all that in them is*." What is in heaven, if these luminaries are not there?

As to the stars described as made on the fourth day, which the theory would certainly admit, if it be acknowledged that the sun and moon were; they are appointed, according to Moses, to give light on the earth,

and yet the ten-thousandth part of them have never been seen except by a few astronomers: and Herschel has calculated that some of the most distant could not have transmitted their light to the earth under two million of years, and if this and other corresponding calculations approach the truth, these stars must have been in existence for that period at least.

The derivation of fowls from the waters, in v. 20, 21, is in much accord with the modern theory of transformation of species, except that the derivation by that theory would require countless ages; but as the creation of fowls was miraculous, it seems strange that a natural medium (water) should be mentioned which is quite contrary to nature. No fowl but the barnacle goose was ever imagined to have had its origin in the water.

The sum of the matter is this—the well-known physical facts positively contradict the plain meaning of the narrative in Gen. i., and also the Fourth Commandment; and the received interpretation is contrary to the real sense of these writings, and seems too much like mystification, in order that the known facts may be laid before the public, without the conclusion to which they naturally lead.

PART II.

OBJECTIONS TO THE DETAILS OF THE DELUGE.

THE ARGUMENT.

Objections to the details of the Mosaic Deluge deduced not from the miraculous, but the natural, incidents related.—Objections to the Time of the Deluge derived from historical and physiological Facts.

SECTION I.

THE EXTENT OF ITS EFFECTS.

GENESIS vi. 17—"I do bring a flood of waters upon the earth to destroy *all* flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven, and *every thing* that is in the earth shall die. . . . And of *every* living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark to keep them alive with thee, they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of *every sort*, shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of *all* food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them. . . . *Every* living substance which I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth. . . . And of clean beasts and of beasts that were not clean, and of fowls and of *every thing* that *creepeth* upon the earth, there went in two and two into the ark. . . . They went in unto Noah, into the ark, two

and two of *all* flesh wherein is the breath of life. . . . And the waters prevailed, and *all* the high hills that were under heaven were covered . . . ; and the mountains were covered. And *all* flesh died that moved upon the earth . . . ; *all* in whose nostrils was the breath of life, and *all* that was in the dry land died. And *every* living substance was destroyed, which was upon the face of the ground . . . ; they were destroyed from the earth, and Noah *only* remained alive and they that were with him."

I have quoted this passage, and underlined the words so often repeated "all," "every," that it may be seen how entirely and decidedly and unequivocally it is stated that *all* flesh, *all* that breathed under heaven were destroyed by the flood, which covered the highest hills and all the mountains, except the pairs and twins preserved in the ark.

Now it is scarcely credible that after these repeated declarations, an eminent man* of that very evangelical party who anathematize a Socinian if he takes the least licence in interpreting Scripture—who cry out, "to the law and to the testimony," should very coolly give it as his opinion that this deluge was only *partial*, overflowing only the region where Noah dwelt, and consequently not requiring *all* birds and cattle, and creeping things to

* Dr. Pye Smith. What would the good Doctor have said had any one ventured to interpret the passage, Gen. iii. 15, "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel," if any one presumed to suggest that this denunciation had relation only to the natural antipathy to serpents, and was the consequence of this antipathy? And yet this would be not taking an hundredth part of the liberty with the words which he recognises as inspired that he has taken. He ventures to contradict the inspired narrative directly; the other alters not a word, but only interprets it in its literal sense.

be kept alive, but only such species, as being peculiar to that region, would have become extinct if not preserved in the ark.

We will, however, return to the plain and simple meaning of the passage. Moses relates that it was the command of God that Noah should take two of *all* living creatures (fishes excepted), to preserve the races that they might increase after the deluge. Now as this deluge, according to the same passage, overspread *all* the earth, all the present existing species of beasts, birds, and creeping things, must have been brought from their peculiar localities; for without their nature was totally different then from what it is now, they required different localities different in temperature, and different in vegetable food. As nothing is stated respecting their transfer, we will suppose it implied that God brought them to Noah miraculously, as he had done to Adam (Gen. ii. 19). But here all miracle ends. It is said that all these species are inclosed in the ark, and not preserved miraculously; but, on the contrary, "all food that is eaten" was taken in order to preserve all species in the natural way. Now this clearly implies, that to each species of quadruped, bird, and insect (creeping thing), its natural food was supplied, or at any rate food on which it could live; but multitudes of insects can exist only on one or two peculiar vegetables, which form their nucleus as well as their food, it was necessary then that these vegetables should be brought with them. Boughs from trees and herbs of almost all kinds from all climates*. The carnivora must have

* How faded and decayed would they be towards the end of the 110 days of the inclosure in the ark!

had an immense store of animal food*. The amphibia—such as the Duck-billed Platypus—must have had cisterns of *fresh* water provided, and all would require as much fresh water to drink as of solid food. It will, perhaps, be said that God could easily keep them alive by a miracle, and therefore that it is not a valid objection. Observe, we are testing the truth of this narrative; it *is* a valid objection then against its truth, that the preservation of all these creatures is stated to have been provided for by *natural* means, and those means impossible, as we shall soon perceive. If this had been related as miraculous, this objection would have been null; but the writer, evidently ignorant of the almost countless thousands of species of breathing creatures, and of their nature and food, did not consider a miracle necessary. He knew only a small number of quadrupeds, birds, and insects, and doubtless had a confused idea that they might all be provided with food. But there are more than 307,944 species of breathing creatures, independent of fishes and infusoria, known to exist at this time on the earth, besides in all probability half as many more, when the interiors of Africa and America are fully explored. And as it has been clearly proved, I think, in Part I., that by the real meaning of the Mosaic narrative, there was only one creation and one deluge, we must add to all living, all the extinct terrestrial species—the megatherium, dinatherium, megalonix, saurgans, &c., beasts, birds, and insects. And all these extinct and living creatures, with their food and water, are said to have been contained for 110 days in a vessel thus described, Genesis vi. 15: “The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits (500 ft.),

* How putrescent towards the end of the 110 days!

the breadth fifty cubits (84 ft.), and the height of it thirty cubits (50 ft.). A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit (1 ft. 8 in.) shalt thou finish it above, and *the door* of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it" (each story 17 ft. high). If any one rejects not this fable at once, let him calculate how these creatures, including the extinct races, with all their necessary water and food, could be accommodated during 110 days in these dimensions, and then he will be quite satisfied respecting the truth of the narration.

The dispersion of these creatures must have been equally miraculous as the collecting, although no miracle is hinted at, for multitudes of them have peculiar localities, isolated from all other places. America and New Holland their peculiar fauna—nay, many trees and multitudes of vegetables found only in certain climates, have their living inhabitants, who live in and upon them and never remove from them. But it is incredible that, without a miracle, the earth should retain vegetable food enough (and not in a completely disorganized state after 110 days of incumbent water) to nourish the granivori that went forth from the ark: what the carnivori did for food is past all conjecture.

THE RAINBOW.—Closely connected with this narrative is the relation of the appointment of the rainbow, as a sign that there should be no more a deluge; thus, "I do set my Bow in the cloud . . . ; and it *shall* come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the Bow *shall be seen* in the cloud . . . ; and the Bow *shall be* in the cloud." Notwithstanding the future tense is repeated three times in this promise, the Commentators, knowing that whenever it rains in sunshine there *must* be a bow, ex-

cept for a miracle, and judging very rationally that during the period of 1656 before the deluge there must have been rain, have delivered it as their opinion that the meaning of the passage is, that God did not then set the bow in the cloud as Moses says he did, but had set it there whenever there was rain and sunshine from the creation ; but that he now *appointed* it for a sign. Oh ! Just observe the words again, “ I *do* set (not I *did* set) my Bow in the clouds, and *when* I bring a cloud over the earth, the bow *shall be* seen (not *has been* seen) in the cloud* . But another evasion is sometimes used, viz., that as there was a mist only during the abode in Eden, and no rain, and as it is not stated precisely when the rain first appeared, so it is suggested that possibly there might have been no rain for the 1656 years before the deluge. As there was sun and water, and the same atmosphere as now, there must have been a standing miracle of 1656 years to prevent rain *. Evidently the writer did not know that the rainbow is a natural phenomenon, inseparable from the sun above and water on the earth, except through a perpetual miracle.

SECTION II.

OBJECTIONS TO THE TIME OF THE DELUGE.

This event is said to have occurred 1656 years after the creation, and 2348 years before Christ, *i. e.* 4195 years from the present time. But this period, as will soon appear, has been found insufficient for the vast changes which must have, on this supposition, taken place in this short period. I shall therefore first take notice of Dr.

* There are the indentations of rain-drops in several slabs of fossil antediluvian sandstone in the British Museum.—LYELL.

Pritchard's evasion of this difficulty. He suggests* that perhaps there might have been very long intervals of time; he hints there might be ages between the deluge and the Call of Abraham, not recorded in Scripture, acknowledging that since the Call of Abraham no such hiatus can be foisted in; now, unfortunately for the Doctor's theory, there are two distinct chapters in Scripture in which the genealogy is traced from son to father *from Noah*. The one is Genesis xi., in which Abraham is traced to Shem the son of Noah; the other, Luke iii., in which Christ is traced to Adam. In this latter chapter the duration of the period between the deluge and the birth of Christ is pointed out with especial accuracy. Comparing this genealogy of Christ with the dates in Genesis (chap. xi.) of the birth of some of the persons named by St. Luke, we have the following particulars:—

Shem, after the deluge,	2	years,	begat	Arphaxad.		
Arphaxad, after he lived	35	„	„	Salah.		
Salah,	„	„	30	„	„	Eber.
Eber,	„	„	34	„	„	Peleg.
Peleg,	„	„	30	„	„	Reu.
Reu,	„	„	32	„	„	Serug.
Serug,	„	„	30	„	„	Nahor.
Nahor,	„	„	29	„	„	Terah.
Terah,	„	„	70	„	„	Abraham.

From the deluge . . . 292 years to Abraham.

There is no occasion to bring the genealogy further down, as the average lives of the individuals were certainly not lengthened after Abraham; therefore there is no reason to question the Hebrew date of the deluge as preceding the birth of Christ 2347 years. But because a much longer time is wanted than this added to the

* In a note in the very last edition of his work on the Physiology of Man.

1850 since Christ, to account for physical phenomena which, according to Moses, must have taken place after the deluge, it is now fashionable to give the preference to the LXX Version, which regularly and monstrously adds 100 years to the life of each patriarch *before his first son was born*, and deducts the 100 years from his after life, and so adds about 1000 years to the Bible chronology*.

The first point to be observed respecting this objection of time is, that it is evident by the description of this deluge as covering the highest mountains, and as being caused (in part) by the breaking up of the fountains or crust of the deep, and as existing 110 days, that the change on the surface of the earth must have been entire. Now it is implied that Mount Ararat was the same that bore that name previously, and it is implied that the four rivers that watered Eden remained the same in position. But if we adopt the literal and true sense and plain meaning of Genesis i., above examined, we shall at once pronounce this impossible; for Moses describes no subversion of the earth, no deluge, no burying of the extinct animals in the strata *but at this one deluge*, and as there are strata upon strata all over the earth, to the average depth of three miles†, and the most tremendous subversions and changes by the agency of fire, in which great subversions the ocean and land must have changed places, it is impossible that any river

* See Kenrick's *Primæval History*, p. 45.

† Supposing three series of the fossiliferous strata to lie over one another in their natural order of deposit, the two lower alone would constitute a thickness of two miles and a half; but the strata without fossils—deposits of water—are much thicker. But if the preceding assertions are proved, these must all be considered as the deposits of the Mosaic deluge.

could have been where it was before. I repeat, as all the vast changes and alterations which the phenomena of geology discloses, must, according to the real meaning of Moses, have taken place at this deluge, it would be the grossest of absurdities to suppose that any river, however great, nay, any mountain, however high, could have survived all these alternations of land and water. The writer might indeed be almost excused for supposing Ararat reared its head again; but we can but smile at the child-like simplicity with which he records that the rivers that watered Eden survived a catastrophe in which (if it was the *sole* subversion) the whole ocean and dry land must at least have changed places. Premising this, then, the sole catastrophe of the kind which the globe has undergone, according to the real meaning of Moses, all the rivers which now water the face of the earth, must have had their origin after that deluge, viz., about 4195 years since. But as one among a host of geological objections to this short time, Sir C. Lyell has ascertained by personal inspection and calculation, that the Falls of Niagara have been retreating from their first position for 36,000 *, and that the Mississippi has been accumulating its delta for 100,000 years †. When Brydone, about a century since, declared it as his inference, from the examination of volcanic localities, and the discovery of ancient lava upon lava, each having trees growing on it, that these successive subversions and growths must have required more time than the world (according to Moses) had existed, he

* See his recent work on America.

† This is the statement which Sir C. Lyell made at a recent public meeting of the National Scientific Association, and calls this the *minimum*. His paper was characterized by the president, Sir R. Murchison, as a magnificent discourse.

was called an atheist. Lyell's assertion is received with perfect accord by the most scientific men of the age.

Another proof that the assigned time must be erroneous, is derived not only from the direct evidence of the great perfection of some arts and sciences and language especially attained at a very early time, but from the evidence that this very advanced knowledge existed long before any direct records have been yet discovered; and that a great central nation existed somewhere, probably Irun, now Persia*; and that this was the parent race of the earliest civilized dwellers in Egypt, in Etruria, in Hindoostan, of the Celts, and perhaps the Mexicans. This, which was suggested and in part proved by Sir William Jones, in his "Asiatic Researches," especially by a minute examination of the common root of their languages, viz., the Sanscrit, has been amplified and confirmed by M. Bailly†, by a comparison of various arts and sciences, and the fact is made more especially probable by the striking similitude in things arbitrary and capricious and yet common to these widely-separated people, such as the fanciful names of the constellations, their fanciful mythology, their measures of distance, and such like things, which no two nations without some communication‡ could have adopted. But perhaps the most remarkable circumstance is, that this Sanscrit language, which is the root of the languages in all these widely-separate countries,

* See Sir W. Jones's Asiatic Researches.

† See Bailly's Theory of a Common Origin of these Nations, in Tytler's Universal History, vol. vi. chap. 25.

‡ There was no after communication between several of these branch nations, except the Etruscans and Egyptians, *i. e.* none previous to the records of their common customs and knowledge. In the cases of the Goths or Celts there could be no communication since the first dispersion.

is the most perfect on earth, as that great linguist, Sir W. Jones, informs us. This language (for ages a dead one) must have existed in all its purity before the dispersion of these branch nations, and the mythology and the astronomy, with the names of the constellations, must have been invented before this dispersion. Bearing this in mind let us look at the date of the deluge again, and then at the earliest records of any of these branches as a distinct nation, and then judge what time there was (according to Scripture dates) for the rise and flourishing of this central or parent nation. The date of the deluge is 2348 years before Christ. Now, setting aside as doubtful at present the evidence of Bunsen and Kenrick, who date the founding the kingdom of Egypt (one of these branch nations) *before* the deluge, we will take the lowest dates, those assigned by Sir G. Wilkinson and the “*Encyclopædia Londinensis**;” the one places the foundation of this kingdom 2201 B.C., the latter, 2188 B.C. These dates are much confirmed by Sir W. Jones, who dates his dispersion † 2213 B.C., and by the account of

* The *Encyclop. Lond.* takes its Chronology from Archbishop Usher.

† It might be supposed from the term “dispersion,” that this separation of the branches from a parent kingdom had some connection with the dispersion at Babel (dated 2247 B.C.); but there could be no affinity or connection between events so entirely different in nature. The dispersion of Babel is described as the consequence of a semi-barbarous—a kind of Titanic race of men, erecting a vast tower, the dispersion of which Sir W. Jones and M. Bailly speak, is the overflowing of a highly cultivated and civilized kingdom. In the former case the languages are then first imposed, and the people separated did not understand each other. In this natural dispersion the original and most perfect language, the Sanscrit, was doubtless retained by the respective branches for a longer or shorter period, but is still discernible in all, and forms the root of all. If the dispersion at Babel be taken into the account, this renders the time for the rise and fall of this great parent kingdom yet more contracted, and makes it 59 years!

Scripture itself; for not long after, viz. 1921 B.C., Abraham finds Egypt a great and powerful kingdom (Genesis xii. 10). Now, at the termination of the deluge we find eight lonely individuals left on a slimy earth, to get their food, clothing, and covering by their own exertions, half being females, and in 160 years after, we find one of the *branch* nations separated from its great parent nation, having carried with it a high proficiency in language, astronomy, architecture, and other arts and sciences. Where, then, was the time for Noah's family to multiply to a great nation, so populous as to send forth nations as colonies to distant parts of the earth? Would 160 years suffice? Where was the time for this pious family entirely to forget the God of the Jews, and to adopt the complex Hindoo-Grecian mythology? Where was the time to build such structures as were the model of the Egyptian and Indian wonders of skill and power? Could all this be done in 160 years? Why, in only 160 the poor isolated family would scarcely acquire the necessaries of life, corn and cattle and huts. How entirely does this belief of a long period of time since any deluge or material subversion of the crust of the globe harmonize with the evidence (*supra*) taken from the deltas of great rivers and the Falls of Niagara, and from volcanic phenomena, and various other facts.

I shall now produce a short passage from the "Quarterly Review" on the discoveries of Layard.— "There can be no doubt," says the reviewer, "that the Egyptian annals, up to a period not yet ascertained, are thus graphically represented on the walls of the temples and cemeteries. If there flourished a great line or lines of sovereigns *long before Abraham*, in the valley of the Nile, a civilized people, a peculiar

religion, a potent hierarchy, why not a dynasty or dynasties, a people as far advanced in civilization on the shores of the Tigris?" This is highly probable, but the cautious writer, fearing he has inferred too much, thus neutralizes his just inference:—

"It will surely be time to limit these ante-Mosaic, or ante-Abrahamic centuries by biblical chronology, when the true and authoritative chronology of the Bible shall have been settled between the conflicting statements of the Hebrew text, as it stands at present, the Sarmatian, the Septuagint, and Josephus; which *last* (does the reviewer mean the LXX?) from one passage in St. Paul appears to have been the received system of our Saviour's time—when there shall be a full agreement among the 120 writers, great part of them Christian scholars and divines . . . differing by some thousands* of years (as?) to the creation and the deluge, yet almost all professing to build their system on the Scriptures."—Quarterly Review on Layard's *Nineveh*, Dec. 1848.

I must be bold to say this resembles mystification; for what have the disputed thousands of years, as to any other dates, to do with the one single point in question, viz., What is the longest interval that the Scripture allows to have intervened between the deluge and the call of Abraham? This is soon answered. The longest time that even the LXX Version allows is only 1201 years. This is the ante-Abrahamic period of the reviewer, the period assigned by the most broad interpretation of Scripture for the family of Noah,

* The difference in dispute can be only 1000 years in the whole Bible chronology, and that is gained by substituting for the Hebrew Bible the gross evasion in the translation, called the LXX. See *supra*, p. 26.

stranded on a slimy earth, to increase and to produce the potent hierarchies and dynasties, and new languages, and new religions.

I shall mention one more proof of the error of the date of the Mosaic deluge, taken from physiological facts. That all the varieties of mankind are but one species is quite certain; but they are varieties so strongly marked, that if they sprang *from* one family, viz., that of Noah (for these strong differences could hardly have existed *in* one family), they must have either been miraculously produced, or a much longer time must have elapsed to acquire them *naturally* than the date of the deluge or even the creation allows. As to miraculous changes of this kind it is not even hinted at, and as to the natural means of such strong distinctions in features, integuments, intellect and color, we can form a fair judgment of the immense length of time they would require, by the fact that Europeans settling in America, at or near the time of its discovery, have only altered in shade of colour, unless they have intermixed with the natives, and America has been discovered nearly 400 years. Now in only double that time, from the date of the deluge (1400 B.C.) we find on some tombs in Egypt, the figures of negroes precisely like the negroes of the present time,—the same woolly hair, jet black skin, thick lips, monkey-like nose, and retreating forehead*; and yet if the deluge occurred when it is dated by Moses, the Caucasian (*i.e.* the Noahic) form must have undergone this change, and, by parity of reasoning, its other transformations, in about 800 years; only

* See Kenrick's Primæval History, p. 16.

about the distance from the Norman Conquest to the present date !

In a late article in the "Quarterly Review" the critic has laboured the subject with much skill, but without producing any additional data, or deducing a satisfactory conclusion. The bulk of the article is occupied by abundant evidence that the whole human race are of one species, which cannot be doubted. In the remaining portion, the important question whether they all sprang from one pair is debated ; but as the writer waives the consideration of the very circumstance on which the alternative chiefly depends, viz., the *time* which has been assigned to work the vast changes, his opinion that they sprang from one pair (however palatable to orthodoxy) is entitled to no more attention than an unsupported conjecture.

One point is quite certain ; either the human race was created as other animals probably, and as vegetables certainly were, in numbers ; or, if they sprang from a single pair, the time required for the present phenomena of human life, must (without miracles not recorded, and therefore not to be assumed) have corresponded with the dates assigned by Sir C. Lyell to the rivers and deltas of the earth much more closely than with the definite date of the Mosaic deluge.

CONCLUSION.

If the arguments in the preceding pages are admitted to be valid, and the relation of the details and time of the deluge (Gen. vii.) be combined with the statements respecting the creation (Gen. i., and Exod. xx.), and both contrasted with physical facts now uni-

versally acknowledged;—if, by the construction of Gen. i. 1 and 2, the first creation of the heaven and earth *immediately* precedes the chaotic state, v. 2, and the light, v. 3, immediately follows it; if, in the Fourth Commandment, the *whole* work of creation is included in the six days; and if these assertions be quite at variance with the geological and astronomical facts now entirely substantiated;—if, according to the meaning of the Mosaic narrative, there has been but one creative epoch and one deluge, and if this be completely disproved by all geological phenomena—if it is stated that all the existing, and implied that all the extinct races, by twos and sevens, with all their food, were inclosed in an ark of the given dimensions for 110 days, and if this be impossible—if, according to the Mosaic account, all the present crust of the earth, to the general depth of about five miles, was found as it now is by that deluge, and if it has been proved that certain rivers, with their falls or estuaries, must have existed ages longer than the clearly-defined epoch of that deluge, and if this evidence of the age of the last epoch be confirmed by that of Primæval History and Physiology:—If these objections to the Mosaic narrative have been satisfactorily proved in the preceding pages, the Reader will easily draw his own Conclusions as to the Inspiration of the Hebrew Narratives. Whether these objections affect the evidence for the inspiration of the preceptive and prophetic portions of the Old Testament, is quite another question.

THE END.







UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 484 166 4

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
305 De Neve Drive - Parking Lot 17 • Box 951388
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90095-1388

Return this material to the library from which it was borrowed.

